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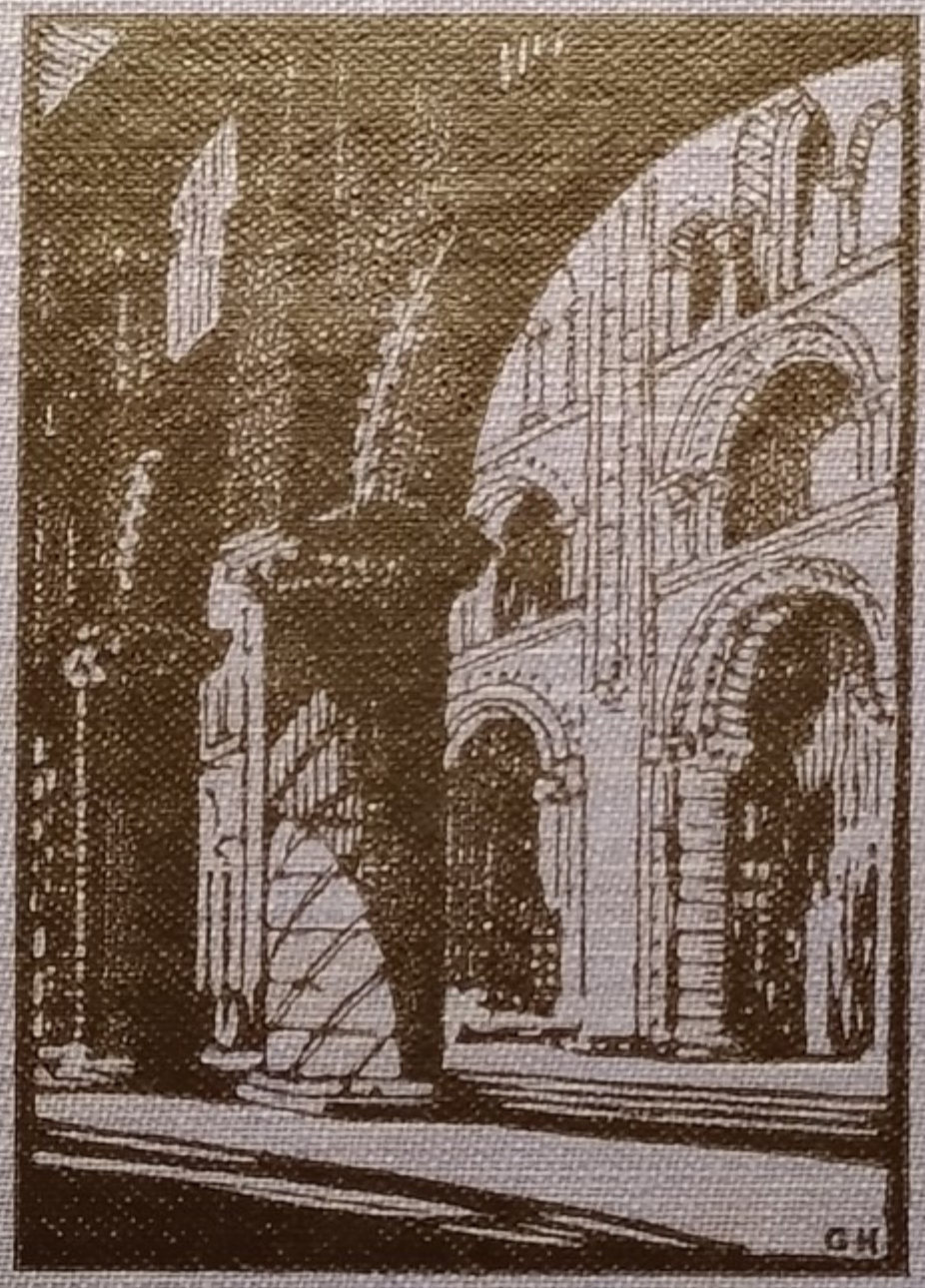

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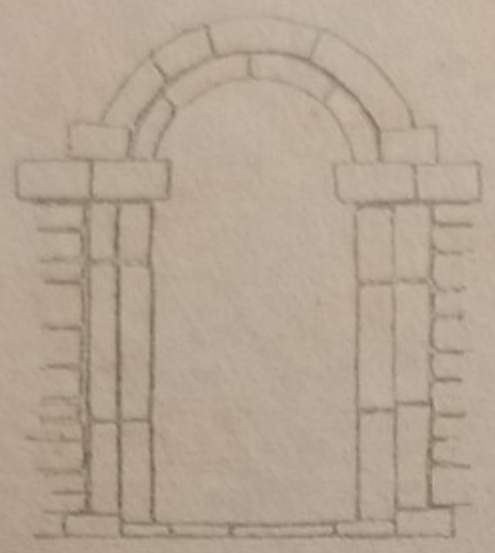

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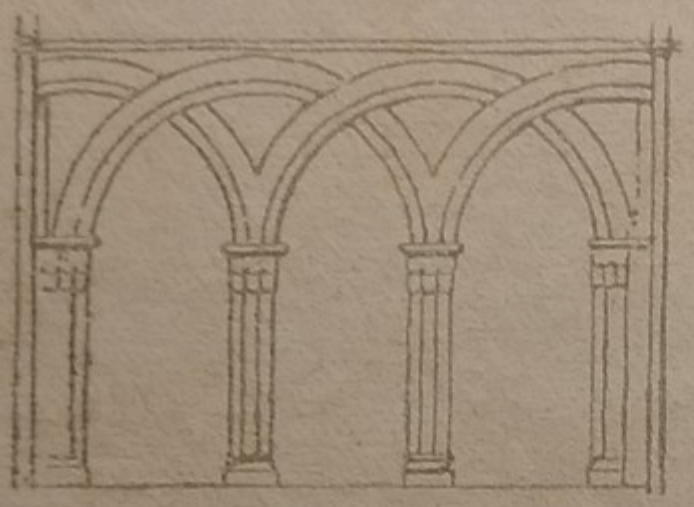

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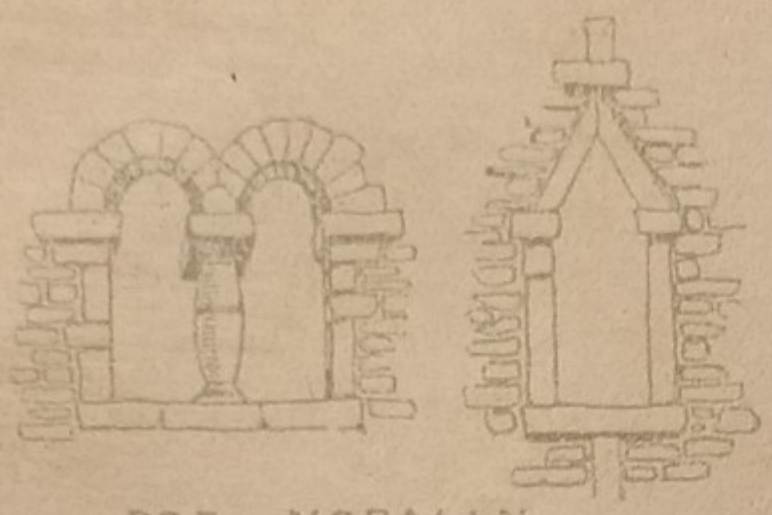

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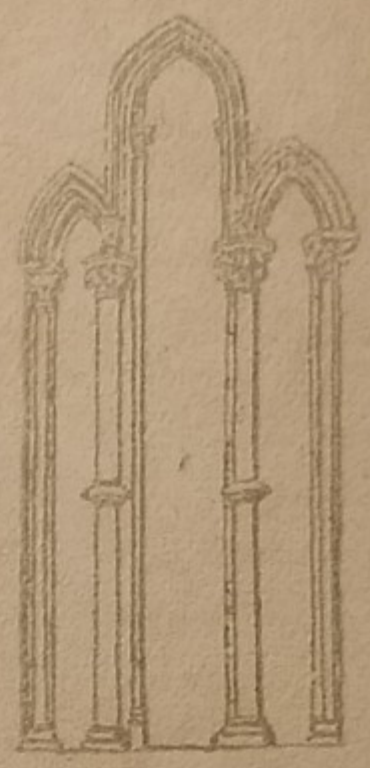

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EARLY ENGLISH
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WINCHESTER AND SALISBURY

BY

EDWARD FOORD

AUTHOR OF "THE LAST AGE OF ROMAN BRITAIN,"
"THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE," ETC.

MCMXXV

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

THIS little volume is one of a series devoted to cathedrals, abbeys and famous churches. The books are planned to be small enough for the pocket and yet sufficiently large to give adequate scope for illustration and a very readable size of type.

The aim which I have set before me in the series is the presentation, as far as possible, of the personal aspects of the great buildings. I have encouraged the authors to write as fully as space permits of the men who raised the vast structures, and of those whose energy and enterprise brought about the successive remodellings and reconstructions which have left to the present age these inspiring works, of what I do not hesitate to call the noblest and most all-embracing forms of art. The men and women whose monuments or unmarked burial-places are in the cathedrals have, as far as possible, been presented as human beings.

While the architecture is fully described, the authors have been urged not to try the patience of those to whom architectural terminology conveys comparatively little. It is my hope, therefore, that the books will stimulate the interest of many who have in the past found the great churches of England a ponderous and uninspiring subject.

In regard to the illustrations, I have endeavoured

to avoid the stereotyped points of view and to present some of the less familiar aspects of the structures. Unless otherwise acknowledged the photographs in this volume have all been taken since last summer. I visited the places specially for this purpose in each case.

The pictorial summary of Romanesque and Gothic architecture inside the front cover and the series of effigies given on the back end-paper are designed to be useful as reminders of the dates of the architectural periods and of armour and the costume of women in the Middle Ages.

GORDON HOME.

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WINCHESTER AND SALISBURY

CHAPTER I

WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL

Its History and the Progress of its Building

The city of **Winchester** itself, as a settlement, is undoubtedly one of the most ancient places in England. Its Roman name of Venta Belgarum connected it definitely with a migration of the continental Belgæ from northern Gaul into Britain which is usually considered to have taken place about 200–150 B.C. A town of some kind must be inferred soon after this date, for the term Venta (Market) implies something more than an unoccupied pre-Roman site. So with some confidence the beginnings of Winchester, as an abode of more or less civilised men, may be dated to somewhere about 100 B.C. or perhaps rather earlier. If, however, it may be conceded that the intruding Belgæ merely took over a settlement of people whom they misplaced, the birth of Winchester must be placed much earlier. It is hardly safe, however, to assume a date much before 100 B.C., nor is it probable that the Belgic town was anything more than an assemblage of log huts and clay hovels. To what extent Romanisation began to

take place after Cæsar's invasion of 54 B.C. there is no evidence. It is quite possible that trading intercourse with Gaul may have brought civilising influences with it.

With the coming of the Romans the archæologist and historian are on firmer ground, though, indeed, there is very little historical mention of Venta Belgarum. It is named by Claudius Ptolemy, and there is sufficient archæological evidence to show that it was a considerable town. If its Roman walls corresponded with those of the Middle Ages it covered an area of some 140 acres without suburbs, and may therefore be credited with from 15,000 to 20,000 inhabitants. Of its industrial importance there is little doubt. In the last edition of the *Notitia Dignitatum* of the Roman Empire there is noted in Britain a *gynæcium* at Venta. A *gynæcium* was a government clothing factory: it derived its name of women's establishment from the fact that according to the ancient Romano-Hellenic tradition the special duty of the females of the family was to weave garments for the males. In primitive times a Roman husband could give his wife no higher praise than to call her an unrivalled spinner—just as he prided himself upon his farmership. I entirely agree with Dr. Haverfield that the *gynæcium* which provided the uniforms of the Roman army in Britain was at Venta Belgarum, not at Venta Icenorum (Norwich), much less Venta Silurum (Caerwent). The grazing lands of Hampshire and the adjacent counties are sufficient explanation, and it may be almost taken for granted that in late Roman days Winchester was a busy town of clothing factories.

Christianity may have come quite early to the Mart-of-the-Belgæ, for there were in the Roman Empire no obstacles to intercommunication such as existed in the feudal anarchy of the Middle Ages. But it cannot be too early and too clearly stated that for the existence of an early Romano-British church on the site of the cathedral there is no evidence whatsoever. Christianity, until a very late date, was a somewhat small, if vigorous, institution in Britain, and evidence as to its prevalence is curiously scarce. There may or may not have been a Romano-British church and a bishop at Winchester. There is no trace of the one and no evidence of the existence of the other.[1]

Of the fortunes of Winchester during the dark days when the reeling Roman Empire, threatened by the Huns and stabbed in the back by the Vandals, lost its hold upon Britain, nothing is known—only this, that when the smoke and dust of that catastrophic epoch have cleared away we find Venta Belgarum, Venta still, with the practical English suffix of *ceastir*, and to all appearance still an important place, so that, about 660, Coenwalch, King of the Gewissæ ("West Saxons"), established there a bishopric, at the head of which he placed a priest named Wini, who was apparently an Englishman by birth, but consecrated in Gaul. The first bishop of the West Saxons had his seat at Dorchester-on-Thames, so that the action of

[1] Roman bricks are visible in a mediæval wall of the close west of the cathedral, and no doubt many others are to be found in less accessible places near by—but this is merely evidence of Roman occupation, not of a Christian church.

Coenwalch involved a division of the unwieldy diocese. Whereupon Agilberht, Bishop of Dorchester, left his see in disgust, leaving Wini as sole ecclesiastical head of the "Gewissæ."

It is interesting to find that, quite ten years before the great Archbishop Theodore of Tarsus instituted a symmetrical diocesan organisation in England, a beginning had been made by an obscure West-Saxon king and a bishop of whom little is known. It is likely enough that Agilberht, like St. Wilfrid, was an overbearing prince of the Church, so that Coenwalch was glad to diminish his authority. Wini is a somewhat curious and not uninteresting figure in early English history. When in 665 he consecrated the saintly Ceadda (St. Chad) as Bishop of Northumbria, he was supported by two Celtic bishops, though ordinarily English and Welsh ecclesiastics had as much affection for each other as the Devil is supposed to entertain for holy water. In 666 Coenwalch expelled him from his see: he went to Coenwalch's enemy Wulfhere, King of Mercia, and, so Bede says, bought of him the See of London, which he held for nine years. He was not present at the Church Council of Hertford held by Theodore in 673, but this may have been because he was already sickening to death: since, despite the dubious nature of his appointment, he was not deprived, his moral character must have satisfied the great archbishop.

It may be supposed that to Coenwalch and Wini Winchester owed its first cathedral. It may or may not have been a Romano-British church restored or enlarged. I do not think that it was, for with the

exception of the little building at Calleva (Silchester), nothing like a church has been detected in a Romano-British town so close to its centre. I think that it is much more probable that Wini's church was built from the ruins of a temple or a basilica—as tradition declares that St. Paul's of London was erected upon, and probably out of the materials of, a temple of Diana.

Arms of the See of Winchester

In this (probably) very modest and unimposing edifice officiated, down to the eve of the Norman Conquest, thirty-one bishops, but of these the earlier occupants of the stool can hardly be described as Bishops of Winchester. They were actually Bishops of Wessex, and Dorchester-on-Thames was as much their seat as the city by the Itchen. Wini was succeeded by a Frank named Chlothar ("Eleutherius"), a nephew of Agilberht, who was by this time Bishop of Paris, and whom Archbishop Theodore may have desired to conciliate. It was Haedde, his successor, who first definitely established himself at Winchester and transferred thither from Dorchester the remains of Birinus, the first bishop of the Gewissæ. The reason was the political one that Dorchester was so near the Mercian frontier that it was constantly exposed to attack: indeed the entire Chiltern-land was for generations a bone of contention between Wessex and Mercia. If a permanent ecclesiastical seat were in question, Winchester was the right place.

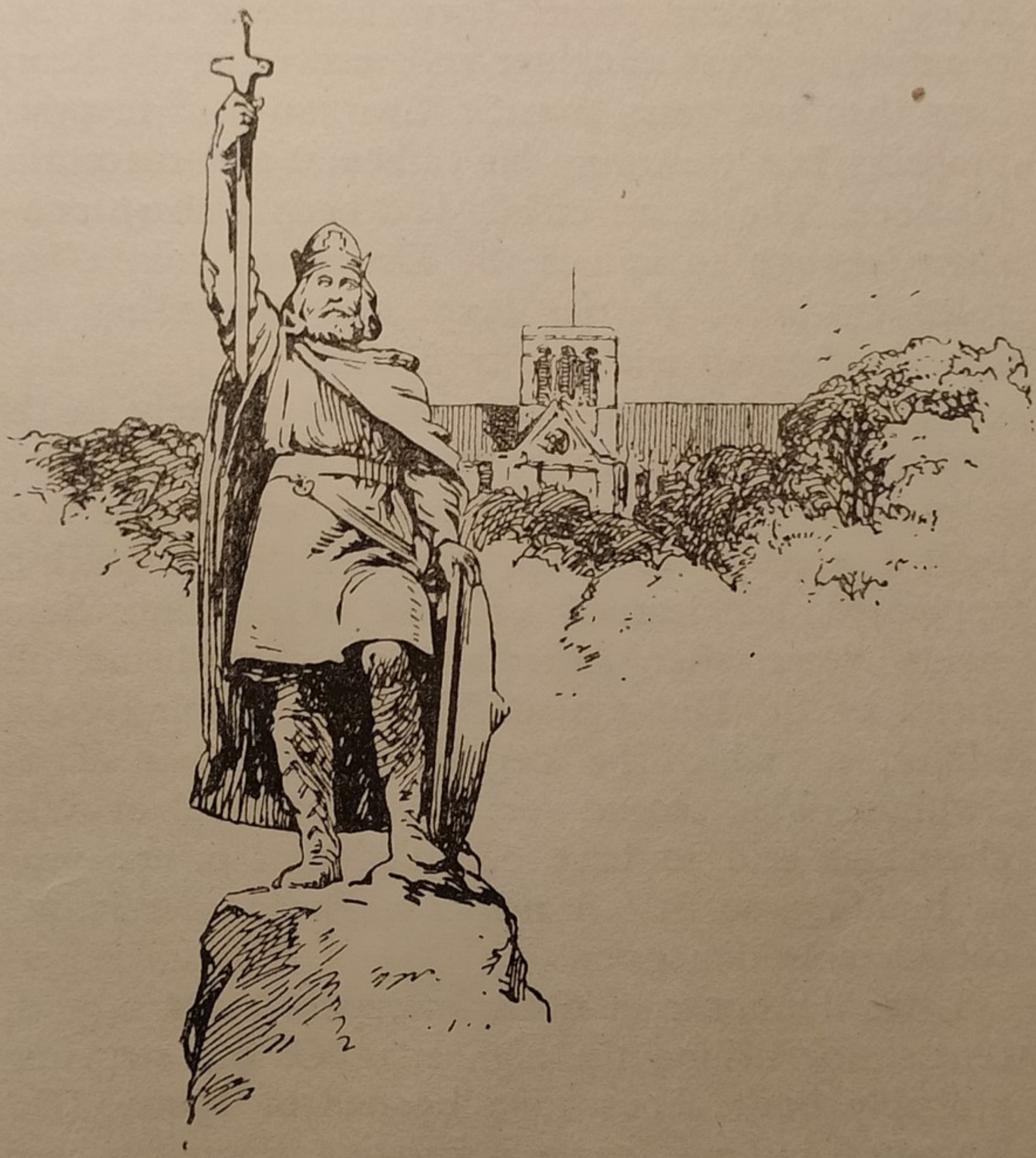
The most famous of the early bishops was Swithun,

the "St. Swithin" of our childish memories (852–862). The day of his death was 2nd July, and in accordance with the humility of his character he directed that he should be buried outside the cathedral so that the raindrops from the eaves would fall upon his grave. This may have had some connection with the famous legend according to which fair weather on St. Swithun's Day will be followed by forty days of rain and *vice versa*. Other saints—for example St. Médard of Soissons—are associated with similar superstitions.

Of St. Swithun himself not very much is known. Florence of Worcester says that he was the tutor of Aethelwulf, the son and successor of King Ecgberht, and afterwards his minister. However that may be, Aethelwulf appointed him Bishop of Winchester in 852, the year after the famous victory over the Danes at Aclea (Ockley in Surrey). He is said to have executed many building works, including the enlargement and embellishment of his cathedral and the construction of a stone bridge across the Itchen at the east gate of Winchester. It is said also—and this is probable—that he drew up and edited the Latin annals of his see. Concerning his Christian humility and the miracles wrought by him his biographer has much to say, but confesses that as regards the events of his life documentary evidence was scanty.

St. Swithun's life came to an end amid the tumult of the Viking ravages. In 860 a great fleet of Viking "dragons" under a sea-king named Voelund came up Southampton Water, and its host landed *en masse* and marched upon Winchester. So sudden was the

raid that it was easily taken and sacked. Having loaded themselves with plunder, and indulged in their



THE STATUE OF ALFRED THE GREAT BY HAMO THORNYCROFT AT WINCHESTER

usual orgies of murder, arson and drunkenness, the Danes prepared to depart, when what the Greeks would have called their Nemesis was upon them. The ealdormen, Osric of Hampshire and Aethelwulf of

Berkshire, attacked the invaders as they lay encamped near smoking Winchester, inflicted upon them a bloody defeat and chased them headlong out to sea, committing great slaughter and recovering the booty. Less than two years later St. Swithun died in peace, probably busy restoring his cathedral and succouring his flock. The lesson of 860 had been a sharp one—sharp enough to induce the Danes to avoid a land ruled by brave warrior kings and abounding with stout ealdormen and sturdy fighters.

The cathedral must have suffered severely in this raid, and it was probably Alfred the Great who was responsible for its complete restoration. Beside it he built a second church, the New Minster, to which he appointed his learned chaplain, Grimbald. Some eighty years after Alfred's death Aethelwold, the friend of St. Dunstan, dedicated a completely new edifice, in which he deposited the bones of St. Swithun. This second (or third) cathedral of Winchester is said to have occupied nine or ten years in building, so that it may have been of relatively considerable dimensions.

Later the bones of the saint reposed in a magnificent shrine behind the high altar. Of this structure, probably built about 1250 by one of Henry III.'s Savoyard bishops, some interesting fragments were discovered in 1923, indicating that it possessed foreign characteristics resembling those of the contemporary shrine of St. Edward the Confessor.

Winchester escaped capture during the Viking invasions of Alfred's reign, and was equally fortunate in the troubles of the times of the redeless Aethelred II.,

Photochrom

WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL FROM THE SOUTH-EAST

Showing Walkelyn's Norman tower and William of Wykeham's Perpendicular choir.

Photochrom

WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL FROM THE SOUTH-EAST

Showing Walkelyn's Norman tower and William of Wykeham's Perpendicular choir.

which ended in establishing a short-lived Danish dynasty upon the throne of England. It was undoubtedly refortified by Alfred, in common with London and other walled towns whose defences had been allowed to fall into decay. Its most famous bishop during the period 862–1066 was the friend of St. Dunstan, Aethelwold, whom the saint promoted to the see from the monastery of Abingdon. His appointment was made in 963, just over 100 years after the episcopate of St. Swithun. He was a very vigorous and rather violent ecclesiastical reformer, who did what he conceived to be his duty without fear or favour: he expelled from Winchester all the married secular canons who would not take full monastic vows and discard their wives, and replaced them by monks from his own abbey. Later he acted as a sort of royal commissioner in the reform of monasteries. There is no doubt that he was an honest and religious man, but his methods were hardly tactful, much less gentle. His friend and superior, Dunstan, quite as religious and determined, had tenfold more consideration and true wisdom, and, while he reorganised and reformed, was guilty of no such act as a wholesale expulsion of canons: on the contrary, he tolerated the college of canons of his own cathedral of Canterbury.

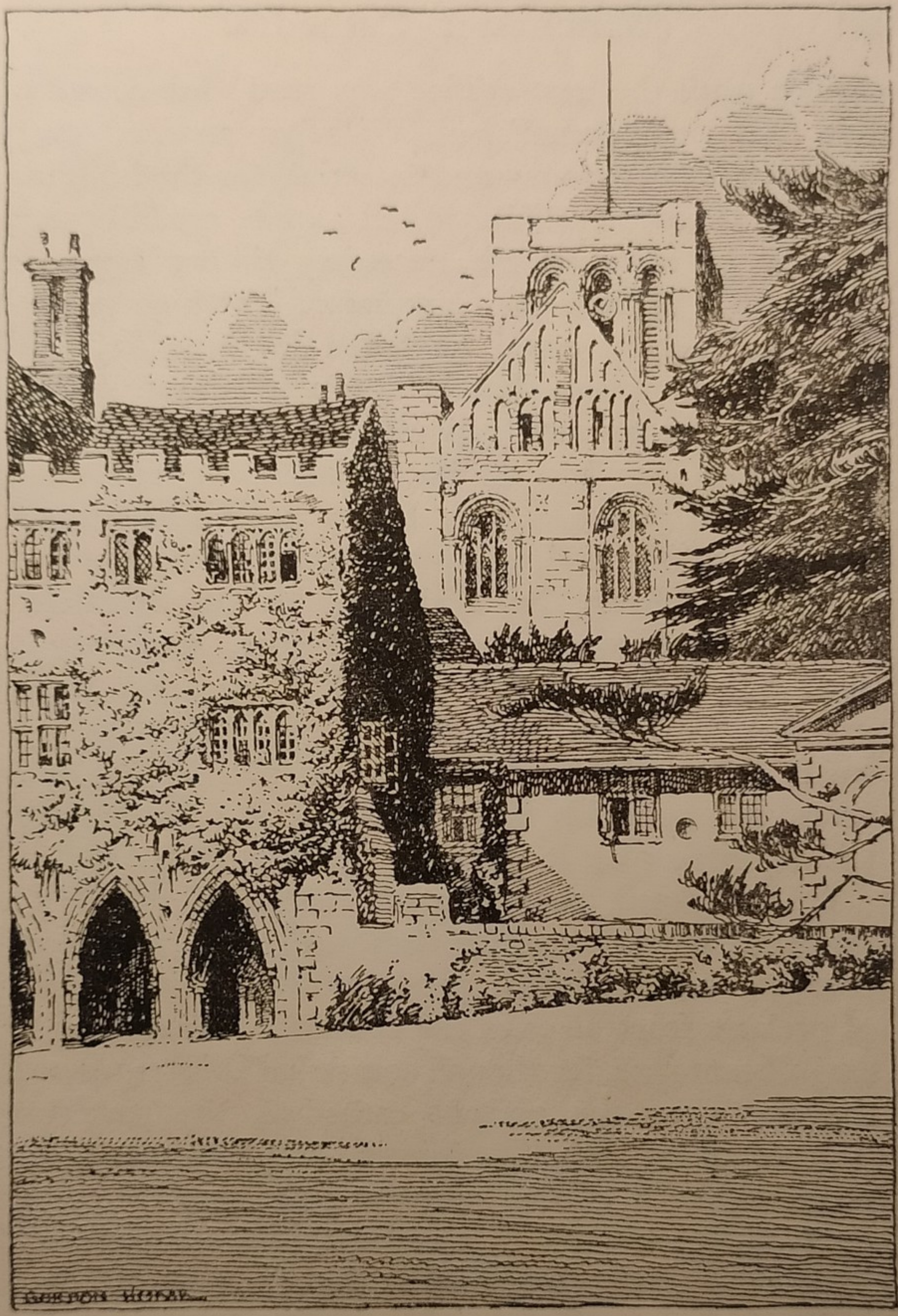
There is little which can be said of the appearance of the cathedral during this period, but it cannot have been an insignificant edifice. Its organ, built by Bishop Aelfheah, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, murdered by the Vikings in 1012, was an astonishing piece of work for that age: it possessed 400 bronze

pipes in groups of ten, each group controlled by a key, and twenty-six sets of bellows.

The last pre-Conquest Bishop of Winchester was that not very creditable person Stigand, the schismatical Archbishop of Canterbury under Edward the Confessor and Harold II. No doubt much which is told of Stigand is untrue, but he was a scandalous pluralist, who held not only his archbishopric but also the See of Winchester and several abbeys at once. On the other hand, William's conduct towards him after the Conquest was not very honourable, for he kept him in office for three years and more, and then allowed him to be deprived and imprisoned by a Papal Legation. He ended his life as a sort of "interned" royal guest at Winchester, and was allowed to enjoy part of his ill-gotten gains.

Stigand's successor was Walkelyn, one of William's chaplains or clerks, a famous doctor of theology, who had been long before recommended for preferment by Maurilius, Archbishop of Rouen. It is curious to know that he was opposed to monachism and wished to replace the monks at Winchester by canons—but in this he was opposed by Lanfranc and overruled by Pope Alexander II. With all this he was intensely ascetic in his personal life, never touching either meat or fish, and his fine qualities soon won him the affection of the English monks of Winchester, who at first were violently biassed against him.

In 1079 Bishop Walkelyn began to build a new cathedral on a scale worthy of its position in the second capital of England. It did not stand upon the site of Aethelwold's church, which was retained for



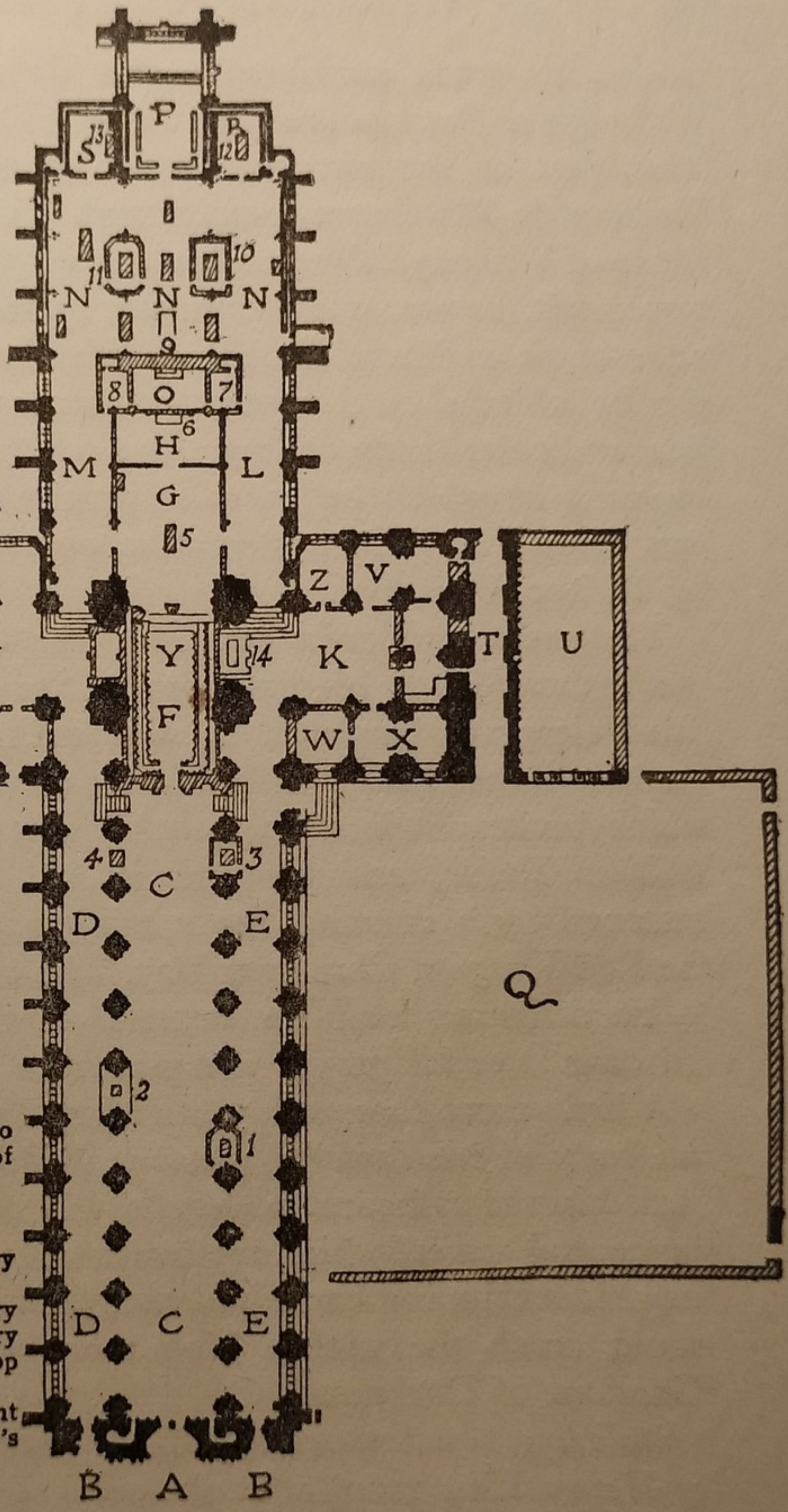
THE TOWER AND SOUTH TRANSEPT OF WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL FROM THE CLOSE

The Early English portion of the Deanery is on the left.

service until the new edifice was ready for consecration and then demolished. Walkelyn strained every means to collect money and materials for the building, and the *Annales de Wintona* tell a quite credible story of how he obtained the necessary timber from the close-fisted William the Conqueror. The king granted him as much as could be felled in three days and nights in Hempage Wood. The wily bishop secretly levied all the axemen and carpenters around, and in three days they had all but felled the entire wood. When the Conqueror rode that way he found scarce a tree standing, and, guessing the truth, gave way to a paroxysm of rage. But Walkelyn pleaded and cajoled, and William's wrath, as often before, gave way to good will. "Let it pass," he said. "You are a greedy snatcher, Walkelyn, and I am a prodigal giver." In truth, William was not a generous giver in his later years, and probably Walkelyn knew it, and therefore laid his little plan to get all he could.

On 8th April, 1093, the new cathedral was so far advanced that it could be dedicated by its clever and energetic bishop, in the presence of a great assembly of prelates from all over the country. It was indeed a magnificent fane, for though somewhat shorter towards the east than the present cathedral, the nave was planned to be forty feet longer. And it seems that a very large part of the huge structure was completed by Walkelyn himself. It was for that age a wonderful achievement: the magnificent bishop planned on a truly royal scale. So far as dimensions are concerned his cathedral must have been one of the largest, if not indeed the largest, in Western Europe. To a great

A Central Western Porch and Doorway
B B Side West Doors. Entrances to North and South Aisles of Nave
C Nave
D North Aisle
E South Aisle
F Choir
G Presbytery
H Sanctuary
J North Transept
K South Transept
L South Aisle of Choir
M North Aisle of Choir
N Retro-Choir and Aisles
O Feretory
P Lady Chapel
Q Site of Cloister
R Bishop Langton's Chapel
S Chapel of the Guardian Angels



T Arched Passage or Slype
U Site of Chapter-House
V Prior Silkstede's Chapel
W Treasury
X Chapter-Room
Y Central Tower
Z Venerable Chapel

1 Wykeham's Chantry
2 Norman Font
3 Edingdon's Chantry
4 Tomb of Bishop Morley
5 Coffin-shaped Tomb said to cover the remains of King William Rufus
6 Altar and Reredos
7 Bishop Fox's Chantry
8 Bishop Gardiner's Chantry
9 "The Holy Hole"
10 Cardinal Beaufort's Chantry
11 Bishop Waynflete's Chantry
12 Altar Tomb of Bishop Langton
13 Earl of Portland's Monu'nt
14 Sir Isaac Townsend's Monument

PLAN OF WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL

extent his work survives to this day. The nave is Walkelyn's, Perpendicularised by William of Wykeham, just as the nave of Exeter is the building of William de Warelwast transformed. The transepts are those of Walkelyn almost intact, and little altered. The tower fell, as was very common in those days. The retro-choir is Early English. With these exceptions, the beholder should always remember that, despite Perpendicular remodelling, the bulk of the vast building at which he gazes is practically that which was reared in Winchester over eight centuries ago by Bishop Walkelyn.

The great builder-bishop lived for five years after the dedication of his cathedral. Like nearly all the titled clergy of England, he was inclined to support the king rather than Archbishop Anselm in the quarrel which broke out in 1097, but he was no admirer of William Rufus, and his end is said to have been hastened by a demand for money made to him by the Red King on Christmas Day. The old man prayed to be delivered from the miseries of this world, and ten days later his prayer was granted.

A little more than two years after Walkelyn's death the body of his dreaded master, William Rufus, was buried in the cathedral, as legend will have it, beneath the central tower, which forthwith collapsed. Possibly the mediæval mind conceived that the fall of the tower would crush the wicked king more surely into the Kingdom of Darkness.

Walkelyn's successor was William Giffard, appointed by Henry I. in 1100, after the see had remained unoccupied for over two years. William's fame rests

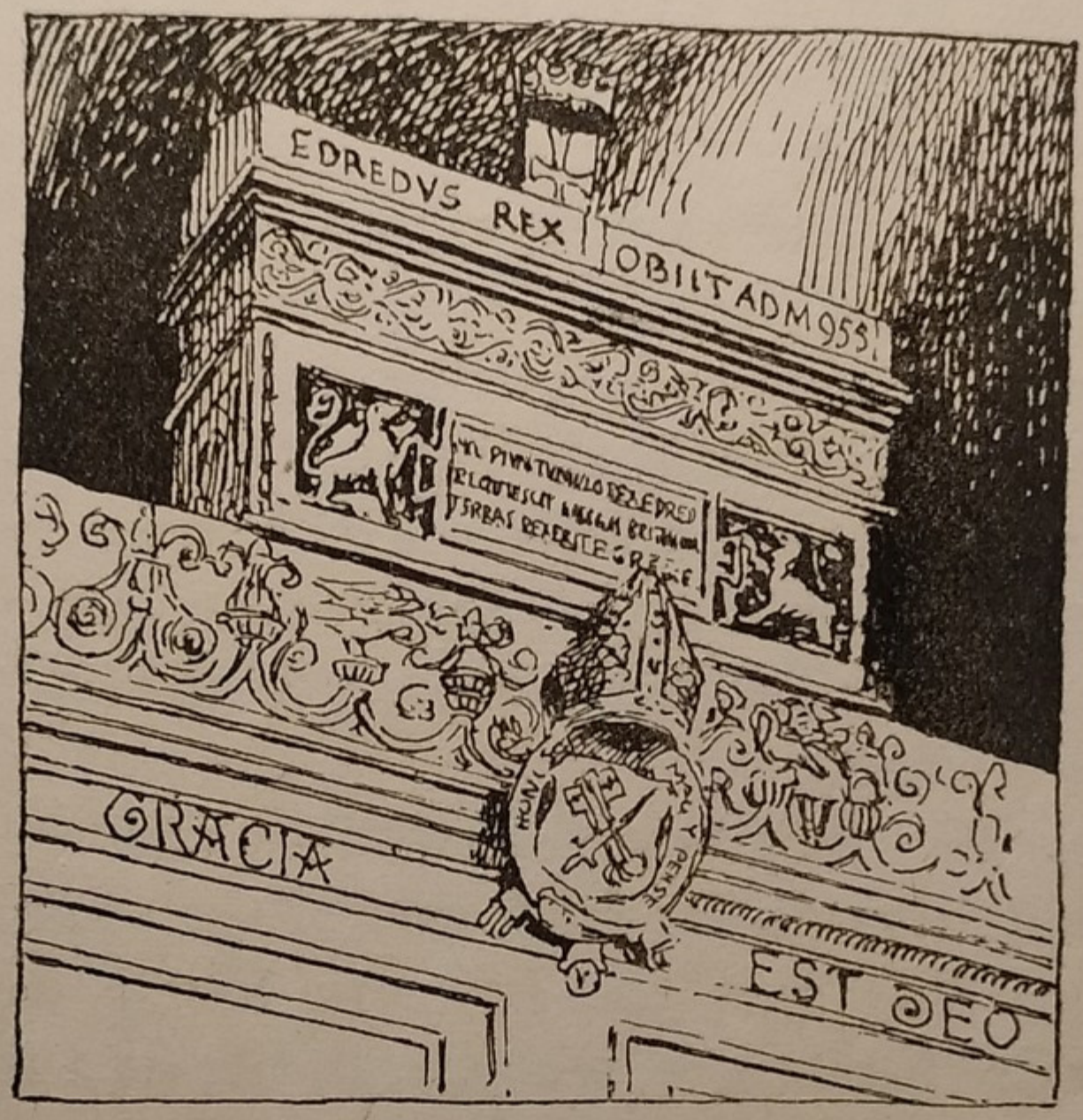
largely upon his close connection with Anselm, on which account he suffered exile for a time. When the quarrel between the king and the archbishop was composed in 1107, William was at last solemnly consecrated by his friend and leader, together with Roger of Salisbury, William of Exeter, Reynhelm of Hereford and Urban of Llandaff. He ruled at Winchester for twenty-two years and earned a very high reputation for nobility, piety, patience and gentleness. He was obviously decidedly French in temperament—witness the very French story of the quarrel between him and his monks and the subsequent reconciliation. But that he really was an amiable and estimable man there is no reason to doubt.

To Giffard succeeded a very different man, Henry de Blois, a man of royal descent, the fourth son of Stephen, Count of Blois, by Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror. He was thus a brother of King Stephen. In 1126 he was invited to England by his uncle, Henry I., who appointed him Abbot of Glastonbury, and in 1129 made him Bishop of Winchester, though he was less than thirty years of age. His episcopate was one of the longest in ecclesiastical history, extending to no less than forty-two years.

Henry was, naturally enough, not an ecclesiastical hero like St. Thomas of Canterbury or St. Thomas de Cantilupe. He was, it was said, half monk and half knight. But at the same time he was no mere worldling: he kept his religious vows faithfully; he was a generous benefactor and a vigorous administrator. The story of his long and agitated career is one

relating more to political than to ecclesiastical history. He played a rather curious part during the reign of Stephen. At first faithful to his brother, he became alienated from him, swore fealty to the Empress Maud in 1141, and then, annoyed by that lady's haughtiness, turned against her, joined Stephen's brave queen, and besieged Maud in Winchester. On 14th September, the empress was forced to evacuate the city, and Henry de Blois, hotly pursuing, destroyed the rear-guard and captured her half-brother and principal stay, Robert of Gloucester. Winchester was sacked by the victors from cellar to garret: even Hyde Abbey beyond the walls was burnt. There can be little doubt that Bishop Henry's action at this crisis ensured his brother thirteen years more of troubled sovereignty. But in after years he bitterly regretted his part in the war. In the matter of Thomas à Becket he showed much moderation: without ceasing his friendship with the archbishop he disapproved of more than one of his actions, and was not by any means disposed to support him blindly. During the last five years of his rule he devoted himself almost entirely to his episcopal duties and, amongst other things, cut down his household expenditure to a bare minimum, giving away the surplus and also all his private means in beneficence. Almost his last act, on his deathbed, was to receive Henry II. and reprove him for the hasty words which had led to the murder of Archbishop Thomas. This was on 6th September, 1171, and two days later he died. Among the bishops of Winchester there have been many notable men, and of them Henry de Blois was not the least.

On the architectural history of the cathedral this princely bishop left, curiously enough, comparatively little mark, but he certainly built a treasury and is generally credited with the donation of the beautiful font. He collected the bones of the kings and deposited



THE MORTUARY CHEST BEARING THE NAME OF KING EADRED

On the choir screen of Winchester Cathedral.

them in chests—this was perhaps done after the sack of 1141. But the chief monument to his memory in Winchester is not the cathedral but the Hospital of St. Cross, founded by him to accommodate thirteen aged men and to provide a hundred poor persons with a meal every day.

To Henry de Blois succeeded Richard de Toclyve, and to him Geoffrey de Lucy (1189–1204), an ecclesi-

astical statesman rather than a religious leader, but upright, moderate and wise. He was preferred to the See of Winchester by Richard I., but had to pay for it by subscribing £3000 towards the expenses of the Third Crusade. On the whole his public life was honourable, and he seems to have been a good bishop to his see. He conferred a great benefit on the city by improving the navigation of the Itchen, and all but completed the eastern extension of the cathedral by replacing the Norman apse by the present retro-choir and Lady Chapel. His practical business ability is shown by his forming a committee of management to superintend the additions which were executed in the nascent Early English style, contrasting with the stern solemnity of the work of Walkelyn to which they were joined.

Bishop de Lucy was followed by one of the most remarkable though far from one of the most estimable figures of that age, the Poitevin Pierre des Roches ("Peter de Rupibus"), who began life as a fighter and ended it almost in a council of war. Peter des Roches has not a very savoury reputation in English history, but he was a most able and versatile man. He could turn his intellect to almost anything, and though he might be called a jack-of-all-trades he certainly cannot be stigmatised as a master of none. He was a general, a military engineer, a statesman, a finance minister, a diplomatist, and a builder, and in every department he won eminence. In fact, he was a very good secular official, but a rather dubious ecclesiastic. Yet he was liberal and magnificent, and either founded or provided for the foundation of seven abbeys, priories and

hospitals. At Winchester he probably completed the work of his predecessor. By all accounts he was an excellent administrator—also a hard master, as one would expect a French aristocrat of the XIIth century to be. Before everything else he was a warrior. Twice he went on crusade. In 1217 he commanded one of the five detachments of the royal army at the decisive battle of Lincoln, and to his generalship the victory was largely due.[1] His last recorded utterance was at a council of war in 1238, and shows that the old fighter's intellect was as vigorous as ever. The terrible Mongol irruption into the West was in full blast, and the Mohammedans of Syria and Egypt were begging for help against them. Peter des Roches emphatically pronounced against compliance with the prayer. He said in substance—and one would like to have seen the old man's face as he spoke: "Let these heathen dogs devour one another and perish, so shall we be able to kill off the remains of the enemies of Christ and cleanse the surface of the earth!" Sound worldly counsel, perhaps, whatever one may think of it in the mouth of a "Christian" bishop.

Bishop Peter's episcopate seems to have set a sort of precedent, for during the next century several of the bishops of Winchester were foreigners. There are found among them the names of Aymer de Lusignan, one of the Aquitanians favoured by Henry III., and Rigaud (Reginald) de Asserio. A succession of

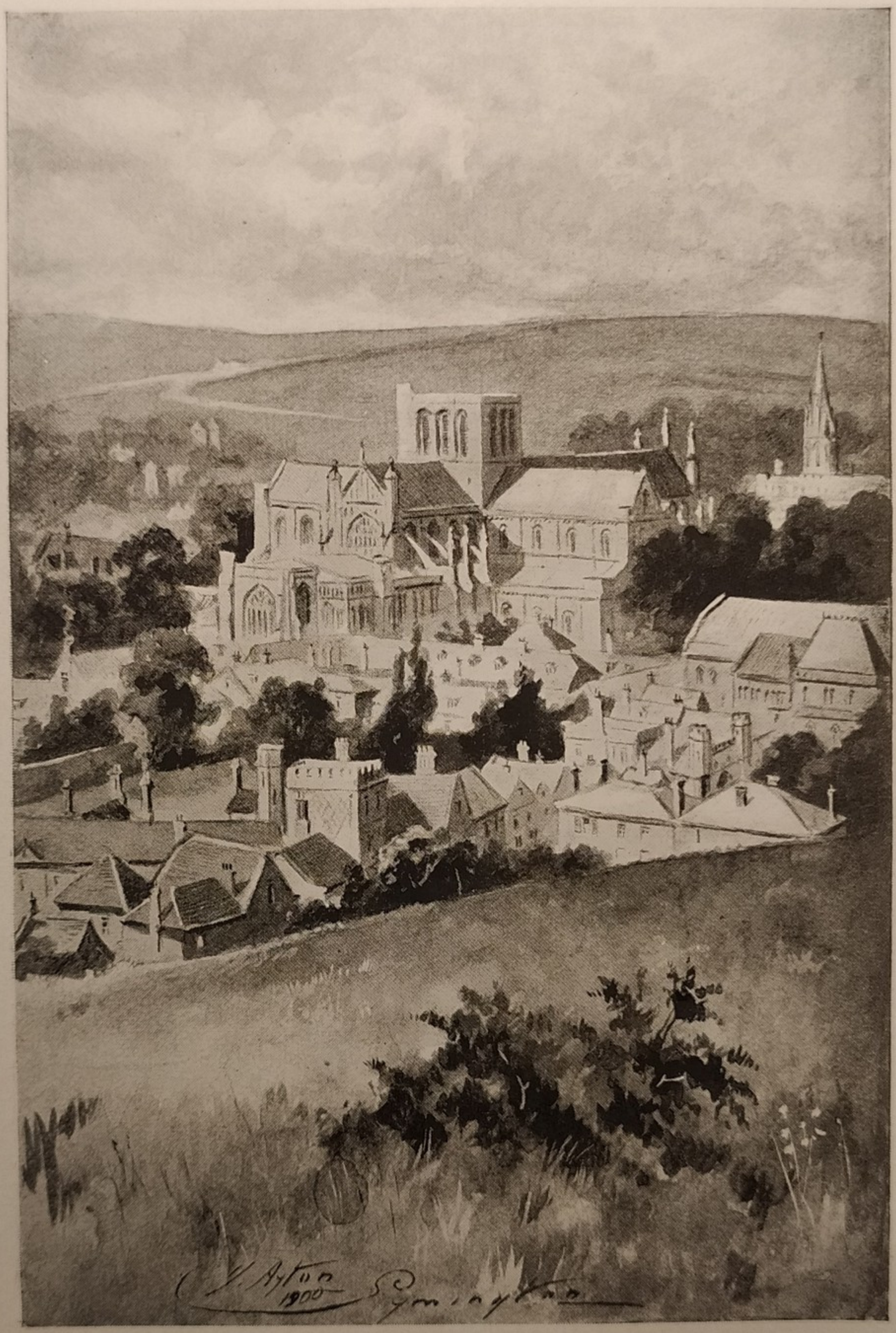
[1] The divisions were those of (1) the Earl of Chester, (2) the Earl of Pembroke, (3) the Earl of Salisbury, (4) Peter des Roches, (5) Fawkes de Bréauté. The first four comprised each about 100 knights with their "sergeants" or squires; the fifth consisted of 300 cross-bowmen.

Effigy of William of Wykeham

In his chantry in the nave of Winchester Cathedral.

insignificant prelates ended in 1323, when John de Stratford-on-Avon was appointed bishop. John of Stratford played a considerable part in English history down to 1348, but though personally respectable, a good administrator and at least an honest statesman, he was far more politician than ecclesiastic, and left few marks of his presence either at Winchester or at Canterbury, of which he was archbishop from 1334 to 1348. His successor, Adam de Orleton, was a man of the same general public character and much less estimable as a man. Of him more has been said in the book on Hereford.

Adam de Orleton was followed in 1346 by his friend and dependent William de Edingdon, at that time Treasurer of England. Politically Bishop William earned no great reputation: he was of the supple courtier type,



WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL FROM THE NORTH-EAST

This is one of the most impressive aspects of the great building.

and his administration as treasurer is unpleasantly notorious for large issues of debased coinage. He was so high in the favour of Edward III. that in 1366 the king procured his election to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, but his age and infirmity forbade his acceptance of the position, and he died a few months later. His episcopate was signalised by the commencement of the Perpendicular remodelling of the cathedral which was continued on so extensive a scale by William of Wykeham. The work was perhaps inspired by that which had just been so splendidly achieved at Exeter, but it is hard to deny that at Winchester the exalted standard of the Exonian prelates was lacking. Bishop de Edingdon demolished the Romanesque west front and destroyed the western extension of the nave to make room for his own decidedly uninspiring work.

William de Edingdon died in October 1366, and was succeeded by yet another ecclesiastical politician, but of a distinctly higher type, William of Wykeham (Wickham, near Fareham in Hampshire), born in 1324, the son of a yeoman named John the Long by an aristocratic wife, Sybille Bowade. The mother's influence probably secured for her son the patronage of two local barons, Sir John Scures and Sir Ralph Sutton, who procured his education at Winchester. From an early age the lad's bent was towards building: at the age of twenty-two he became clerk of the royal works at Henley. After this he rose steadily in the service of Edward III., until in 1368 he became Chancellor of England.

The usual reward of administrative service was by

means of Church preferment, and in 1365 William held prebends and livings worth £873 per annum—say £10,000 in value of 1913—though he did not so much as take minor religious orders until 1362. In 1367 he was consecrated Bishop of Winchester. Three years later he resigned his thankless office of chancellor; but until 1391 his life was one of political trouble and vicissitude. In that year he finally resigned the office of chancellor, to which he had been once more appointed by Richard II., and devoted himself to his ecclesiastical duties. His last appearance in public life was in 1400, but soon afterwards his excellent health broke down. For the last two years of his life he lived in retirement, his duties being performed by coadjutors. When at last he passed away on 27th September, 1404, he had survived his eightieth year—for that period a most remarkable phenomenon—and four days before the end he was still able to transact business.

William of Wykeham was not a great statesman. Despite his services to the cause of education he was not learned: he was not a great figure in religion: he cannot rightfully be described as a great artist: he was a good man of business rather than anything else, and to this useful qualification he owed his eminence. Withal there is abundant evidence that he was really a most benevolent personage. He was immensely wealthy, and some of this wealth may have been acquired by means which to-day would be reprobated—but he spent it with royal generosity and munificence. His first act as bishop was to excuse his poorer tenants the payment of their customary dues; thrice he paid their share of subsidies levied by

the government out of his own pocket, and there are innumerable instances of his unstinting private beneficence. Every day he kept open house to rich and poor, and besides, fed at least twenty-four necessitous persons. Throughout his bishopric he spent money lavishly in restoring churches and repairing roads.

William of Wykeham's enduring fame must always rest upon his two famous educational foundations, "Seinte Marie College of Wynchestre in Oxenforde" —New College, as it has come to be called—and Winchester Grammar School—"Seinte Marie College of Wynchestre." New College was founded in 1380 and Winchester College in 1382, though the first stone was not laid until 1387. According to the plans of the founder, the two institutions were in close connection with one another. The Winchester foundation is especially notable because "for the first time a school was established as a sovereign and independent corporation, existing by and for itself, self-centred, self-controlled." One sees here the working of a constructive mind, not trained in the narrowing outlook of ecclesiasticism.

Winchester College was opened on 28th March, 1394, and hardly had it been finished than the aged bishop—he had passed his seventieth year—took up the task of completing the Perpendicular remodelling of his cathedral. This occupied him until his death, but progress does not seem to have been very rapid, for it is clear that his successors, Cardinal Beaufort and William of Waynflete, had a share in the work. The exact extent of the remodelling of William of Wykeham is uncertain, it is only clear that a year before his death the upper portions of the nave had not yet

been transformed. It would thus seem that his share in the Perpendicularising of Winchester Cathedral is not a very large one.

William of Wykeham was a remarkable personage, yet scarcely such a commanding figure as his successor Henry Beaufort, the left-handed son of John of Gaunt by Katharine Swynford. He was born, it may be noted, at the Château of Beaufort in Anjou. A prince of the blood royal, though illegitimate, his rise in public life was assured. In 1389, when probably about twenty years of age, he was made prebendary of Thame, nine years later he became Bishop of Lincoln, and on the death of William of Wykeham in 1404 was appointed to the See of Winchester. He was a friend of Henry V., closely associated with him when Prince of Wales, and on his accession in 1413 Henry at once appointed his uncle chancellor. From that day to the end of his life Henry Beaufort was one of the principal figures in Western Europe. After the death of Henry V., Beaufort was, with Prince John, Duke of Bedford, the leading man in England.

He was the very antithesis of an ecclesiastic: he was ambitious, haughty and high-tempered. But he was upon the whole a wise and patriotic statesman. He supported the imperialistic policy of Henry V. and Bedford in France until it was clear that all hope of success had vanished, and then laboured earnestly for peace. A born financier, he made an immense fortune, but spent it ungrudgingly in the public service. In 1443 he advanced no less than £20,000 (about £200,000 in value of 1913) towards the equipment of troops designated for service in France. At Winchester he

carried forward and perhaps completed the transformation of the cathedral and enlarged the Hospital of St. Cross. He died at Wolvesey Palace on the 11th of April, 1447, quietly and bravely, not, as Shakespeare says (*Henry VI.* Part II., Act III. Scene iii.), in the horrors of remorse and despair. Very much of his vast wealth he bequeathed for purposes of charity, and per-

THE PORTRAIT HEAD OF THE EFFIGY OF WILLIAM OF WAYNFLETE

In his chantry in the retro-choir of Winchester Cathedral.

haps his best epitaph was pronounced by Henry VI., when the cardinal's executors offered him £2000 from their master's estate: "My uncle was very dear to me, and did me much kindness while he lived; may the Lord reward him."

Secular prelate though he was, Beaufort was not unmindful of his cathedral. He enclosed the relics of St. Swithun in a marble shrine, and in the retro-choir built the splendid chantry in which his bones still

repose. To him also is attributed the planning and commencement of the reredos, without question one of the finest monuments of the Perpendicular period.

William of Wykeham had ruled his see for thirty-eight years, Henry de Beaufort for forty-three; and now William of Waynflete, Provost of Eton, who had been advanced by Beaufort, took up the fallen crozier of the great cardinal, and held it for nearly forty years more—years of storm and stress. In 120 years, therefore, England saw nine kings, but only three bishops of Winchester, and each of those bishops was a man of mark.

William of Waynflete had little to do at Winchester save to add the finishing touches to the work of his two predecessors. His lot was cast in terrible times. He saw Henry VI. deposed by Edward IV., restored, again deposed and finally murdered. At the close of his life he witnessed a perfect kaleidoscope of political changes and died, as he undoubtedly at heart wished to die, under the rule of the Tudor heir of his unhappy first royal patron. His splendid foundation of Magdalen College at Oxford is his best title to the gratitude of posterity. To Magdalen he bequeathed almost all his landed property, but he left bequests of money to New College, Winchester College and St. Cross. A somewhat weak politician, Bishop William was an upright and careful chancellor, and personally a thoroughly estimable man. He died on the 11th of August, 1486, at the age of ninety, in full possession of his faculties to the last.

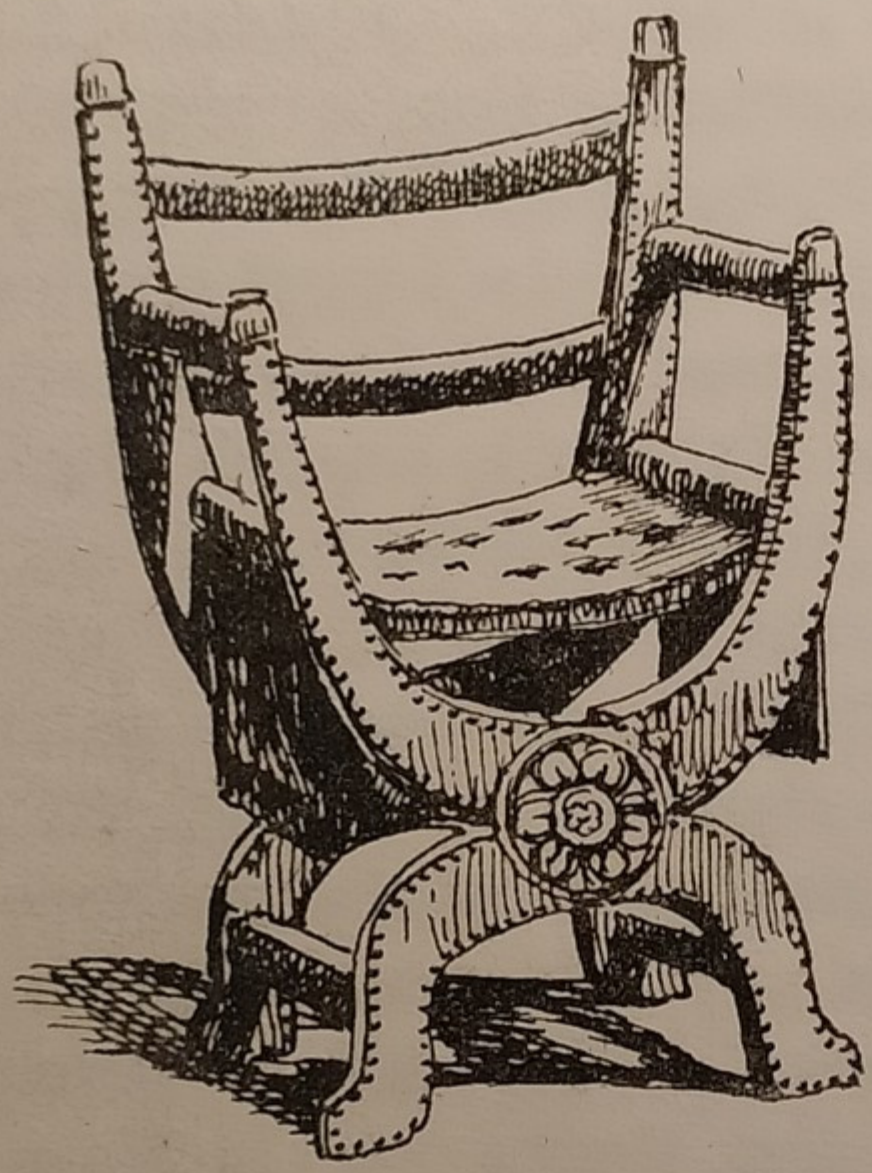
With the passing of William of Waynflete, almost the last of the great mediæval statesmen-bishops of Winchester, the colourful days of the Middle Ages

were fading. But though the main fabric of the cathedral remained unchanged, many minor additions were made during the last fifty years of its life under the old religious order. Bishop Thomas Langton transformed the chapel on the south side of the Lady Chapel as his chantry, and began to elongate the latter by a new Perpendicular bay which made the cathedral the longest in England. His successor, Fox, carried out much rebuilding in the choir, and completed the reredos, and erected the Late Perpendicular lateral screens of the choir, upon which, enclosed within new caskets, he placed the mortuary chests of the early English kings.

On the death of Fox, that inveterate pluralist, Cardinal Wolsey, held the see for two years, to be succeeded in 1530 by a very famous, somewhat sinister and perhaps unjustly condemned man, Stephen Gardiner, Chancellor of England during the unhappy reign of Mary I., and commonly held responsible for the horrors of the persecution of Protestants which signalised the period. There is no doubt that Gardiner, a sincere Catholic of the ancient type, was perfectly ready, like almost all men of his habit of mind, to exercise severity towards those who differed from him, and that he supported the re-enactment of the statute *De Haeretico Comburendo*.[1] So much is certain, but it is equally certain that he exercised his influence to protect many members of the reformed church, including even Cranmer. In the negotiations for the marriage of

[1] This Act (2 Henry IV., c. 15) gave power to the diocesan alone, without reference to any other authority, to pronounce sentence of heresy, the sentence of burning being carried out by the sheriff.

Mary with Philip of Spain he showed sound statesmanship and strong patriotism. On 25th July, 1555, he celebrated the marriage in the cathedral of Winchester, in the presence of a brilliant gathering of English, Spanish and Low Country nobles. Conspicuous in the group which stood behind the royal pair were three famous figures. One was that of Don Ruy Gomez de Silva, afterwards Prince of Eboli, Philip's trusted minister during the greater part of his reign. Near him was the tall sinewy figure, with lean, hard, fierce face, of Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, Duque de Alba de Tormes, best known to history as "Alva," the relentless conqueror of Portugal and oppressor of the Netherlands. And with Alva was Lamoral, Count of Egmont, at present of all men the highest in Philip's favour, but doomed in the end to die by the judgment of the grim Castilian warrior who now stood beside him in the choir of Winchester Cathedral.



THE CHAIR USED BY QUEEN MARY I.

At her marriage to King Philip II. of Spain on 25th July, 1555.

With the death of Mary the cathedral's brief revival of its ancient glory came to an end. The Elizabethan bishops cared little for its preservation, and one of them, Robert Horne (1559–79), destroyed the chapter-house and cloisters. Winchester and its cathedral

suffered much in the Great Civil War. Hampshire was a debatable land between King and Parliament, and Winchester was taken and retaken. The castle was captured for the last time by Cromwell in 1645.

Winchester in the XVIIth century was in a woeful condition, and the losses to history and art during the years of civil warfare were great there as elsewhere. *In* 1653 *it was actually proposed to demolish the cathedral*, but the inhabitants of the city sent up an urgent petition to the "Rump" Parliament, and shortly afterwards the doings of that unconstitutional assembly were (likewise unconstitutionally) cut short by a somewhat high-tempered general named Oliver Cromwell, with some assistance from Major-General Harrison, who lent the Speaker a hand to help him down, while the musketeers of my lord general's regiment looked grimly on. So St. Swithun's cathedral was saved, but it was in such a state of dilapidation that £40 was subscribed to make the roof watertight! In the north transept one can almost picture to-day, in the worn and battered stonework, the hard times the great structure endured in the XVIIth century.

With the Restoration something like a shadow of the old prosperity returned to the cathedral, if not to the now decayed little city beside the Itchen. Over seventeen thousand pounds were expended in making the edifice once more fit for the celebration of the Anglican service. In 1684 Bishop George Morley founded an almshouse for the widows of clergymen of the diocese. In 1713 Sir Jonathan Trelawney, then bishop—one of the famous Seven of 1688—undertook a well-intentioned restoration, and then the religious

deadness of the XVIIIth century settled over the great church as over the diocese. In 1818 strenuous efforts were at last put forth to repair past neglect, no less than £40,000 being expended. Thirty-eight years later the present organ was installed. In 1885 the restoration of the reredos was begun: twelve years afterwards the roof was put in order, and finally, in 1905–9, a great part of the cathedral was underpinned. Its foundations were by no means safe, the site being honeycombed with springs, but they were now, through the skilful work of Sir Francis Fox, the engineer, made perfectly secure, and Winchester Cathedral, which has stood for more than eight centuries, bids fair to brave the elements for many more.

CHAPTER II

WINCHESTER

The Cathedral described

THE EXTERIOR

Externally it must regretfully be admitted that Winchester Cathedral is not inspiring: it gives a general impression of great bulk and long horizontal lines unrelieved by stately tower or soaring spire—wherein in compares very badly with its elder sister of Canterbury and its younger sister at Salisbury. The central tower is so low that it can do nothing to relieve the monotony of the outline, and there is no striking architectural or artistic feature which can attract and hold the eye.

The best-known view is that from the north-west, but it is perhaps the least attractive of any. The great length of the nave makes the tower appear almost insignificant; nor can it be said that the hard outlines of the windows achieve anything in the direction of relief, much less inspiration. The west front is an unsatisfying composition at best; the only really pleasant features are the beautiful Romanesque recesses of the tower and the strong simplicity of the north transept.

A better prospect, but not one attainable by the ordinary visitor, is that from the deanery garden. On

this side the stern bold outline of the south transept, thrust forward into the view, screens from observation the uninspiring length of the nave, while the choir, though the outlines of its windows are hardly pleasant, makes a better impression than the former, and the eastern chapels, with their incongruous mixture of Romanesque and Gothic architecture, have something attractive in their very confusion. The library, with the feeling which it has of leaning against the stern and stately south transept, is an absolute eyesore; but on the other hand, the tower looks quite well from this standpoint, and its grouping with choir and transept is excellent.

DETAILS OF THE SOUTH-WEST BUTTRESS OF THE NAVE OF WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL

The east end, as aforesaid, is a strange confusion. In the centre the Lady Chapel stands out well, and as a composition is satisfactory enough, though somewhat spoiled by the curious hard contour of the window, which seems peculiar to Winchester. Otherwise, I think that this small façade shows considerable beauty of detail and a stateliness above its very modest dimensions. To right and left appear the fine Roman-

esque extremities of the flanking chapels, though the harmony is wrecked by the pointed window thrust in among the delightful external arcaded work of Langton. In one word, there is confusion: but the confusion is not altogether unpleasing: in some fashion the east end attracts by its irregularity.

The prospect from the north-east has the merits of that from the deanery garden, and the north transept at least stands out in all its virility, without a sort of stone book-shed thrust against it as in the case of its southern fellow.

So far, it may be said, I have had little which is good to tell of my subject. But there is one view-point from which the beholder can derive little but satisfaction as he surveys the cathedral of St. Swithun. That point is from the high ground overlooking the city on the north-east by St. John's Park, and from it the most biassed observer must confess that the great building has an aspect of grand and unpretending stateliness, not unworthy of its position among the religious fanes of England. Its huge bulk is most evident: it towers above the municipal buildings in the High Street, though they are by no means insignificant or unimposing. Seen from above the weakest features in the edifice are not apparent: the actual bulk of the tower is realised, the long horizontal lines cease to be monotonous and become impressive. The uninspired west front is not seen; the by no means distasteful confusion of the eastern end is to the fore; the strong transepts and powerful tower lift the great building above the level of the commonplace. In twilight or a mist the view has in it something quite

remarkable, the defects of architecture are completely veiled: one is only conscious of a sense of overpowering mystery—gazing upon the vast, faintly outlined edifice brooding over the roofs of the ancient capital of Wessex.

Few words need to be wasted upon the west front, which, however one may regard it, is frankly a most tame and unsatisfying composition. It is all the more painful to come to this conclusion because the design is excellent. An advanced porch, with a splendid Perpendicular window above, surmounted by a gable; the three bound into unity by massive buttresses and spirelets, and the whole flanked by wings—here are materials enough. But though the means exist in abundance they have been wretchedly utilised. The porch-screen is poor and literally crushed by the gigantic window above it, while the feeble wings entirely fail to support the centre. The great window itself is devoid of all mystery—it has the appearance of having been imposed upon the façade. The spirelets are heavy and ungraceful, and the finish of the gable has an aspect of mere meretriciousness.

The west front of Winchester is yet another testimony to the truth that in façades English architects of the Middle Ages failed. No doubt there is something to be said for the modest English practice of not "putting all the best goods in the shop window"—but what a thing of beauty the master-builders of Notre Dame de Paris, Amiens and Rheims would have made of the west front of Winchester had they been given the opportunities of William of Edingdon!

The worst of a bad business is that to make way

THE WEST FRONT OF WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL

Seen from the avenue of limes. It is a somewhat ineffective composition, hardly worthy of a cathedral of primary rank.

for this poverty-stricken performance, the misguided bishop actually demolished the Norman façade of the cathedral, and the Anglo-Norman masterbuilders seem to have been as capable of producing splendid Romanesque façades as their successors (with some exceptions) failed to conceive Gothic fronts. So much seems clear to the writer, that Romanesque architecture is more in harmony with the genius of the Anglo-Briton than Gothic.

The Interior—The Nave

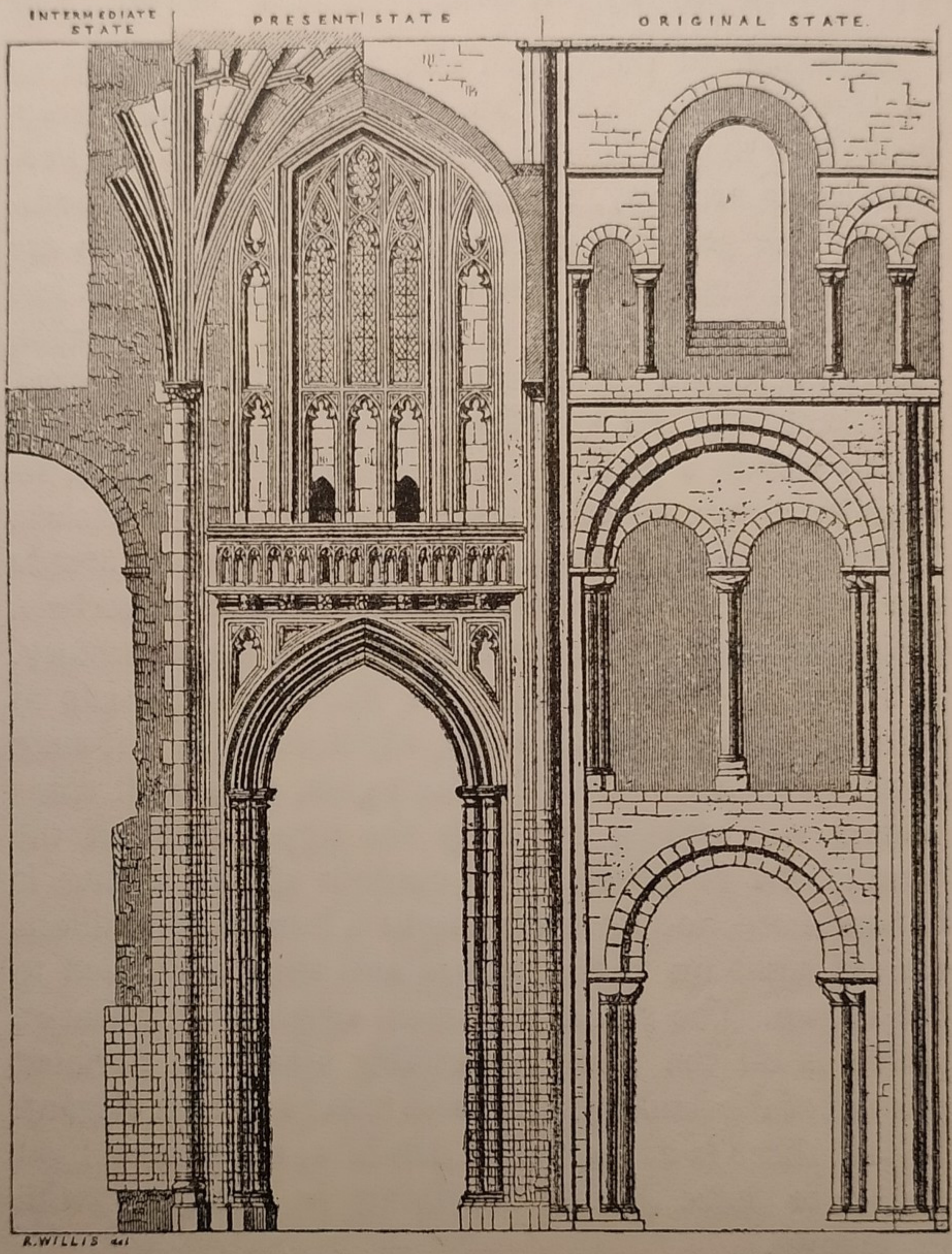
Entering the cathedral and taking position by the western doorway, there lies before the visitor the towering arcades of the nave and the practically uninterrupted vista of some four hundred feet to the east end of the choir. The impression immediately made is that of immense length combined with majestic vigour in the tall arcades with their massive piers. The feeling of strength never leaves the observer; it is inherent in the splendid vault, no less than the arcades and the tower-like piers; it seems to be the distinguishing character of the interior as a whole.

The great length of the nave is evident from the first. There are eleven bays on either side. Each is entirely independent, separated from its fellows by shafts rising from the floor to the top of the lower stage of the clerestory. They are over fifty-seven feet in height and the impression produced by their uninterrupted rise is a very deep one. From these shafts spring the eleven bays of the magnificent vault.

Each pair of piers with the arch of the clerestory encloses a complete bay, and each has two stages only, instead of three. The lower one consists of a tall Perpendicular archway, surmounted by an arcaded pediment. The grouped piers which uphold the arch are thirty feet high, while the rise of the arch itself is less than ten feet; this gives to the opening an impression of soaring height accompanied by peculiar narrowness. The arch and its spandrels form a platform, upon which stands a pediment of considerable elegance, its front being composed of six triplets of floriated arches. It projects slightly beyond the face of the main arcade and is bracketed by seven sculptured bosses or corbels. This pediment forms the balustrade of the clerestory.

There is no triforium: the clerestory consists in principle of a single tall stage, which looks as if it were designed as a window of three lights, each light comprising two stages; but only the upper stage of the central one is glazed. The contour of the arches is flat and hard, and the central light is formed by mullions carried right up to the curves and then continued to the crown. The result is a most ungraceful stiffness, which is all the more regrettable since the floriated arcades of the flanking lights and lower stage are elegant. In fact there is an aspect of disunity: the central light seems to have hardly anything in common with its fellows.

Judging from the drawings in Willis's *Architectural History of Winchester Cathedral*, the remodelling of the nave carried out by William of Edingdon and William of Wykeham was an artistic improvement as regards the main arcades, but hardly so with respect



THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE NORMAN NAVE OF WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL INTO THE PERPENDICULAR STYLE

The very crude and plain work of Bishop Walkelyn on the right is contrasted with the last period of Gothic by William of Wykeham.

to the Norman clerestory, which seems to have been a very graceful and simply beautiful conception, rather ill-replaced by the present incoherent composition. It cannot be said that the contour of the main arches is satisfactory, still less is the height of the piers well-proportioned to the rise of the arch; on the other hand, the feeling of soaring loftiness is fully achieved.

It must carefully be borne in mind as we survey this seemingly pure Perpendicular structure that it is actually Norman, transformed into the later style by a process similar to that which was undertaken at Exeter. In the western cathedral the success achieved was absolute and remarkable; at Winchester the same cannot be said. Strength is there in abundance; the Perpendicular arcades are simply imposed upon the gigantic piers of Bishop Walkelyn, and the structure looks as though it may stand for ever. But the splendid beauty of Exeter is lacking, though there is no want of majesty in the tall archways, which have something of the feeling of the great opening in Akbar's Baland Darwaza at Fathpur Sikri.

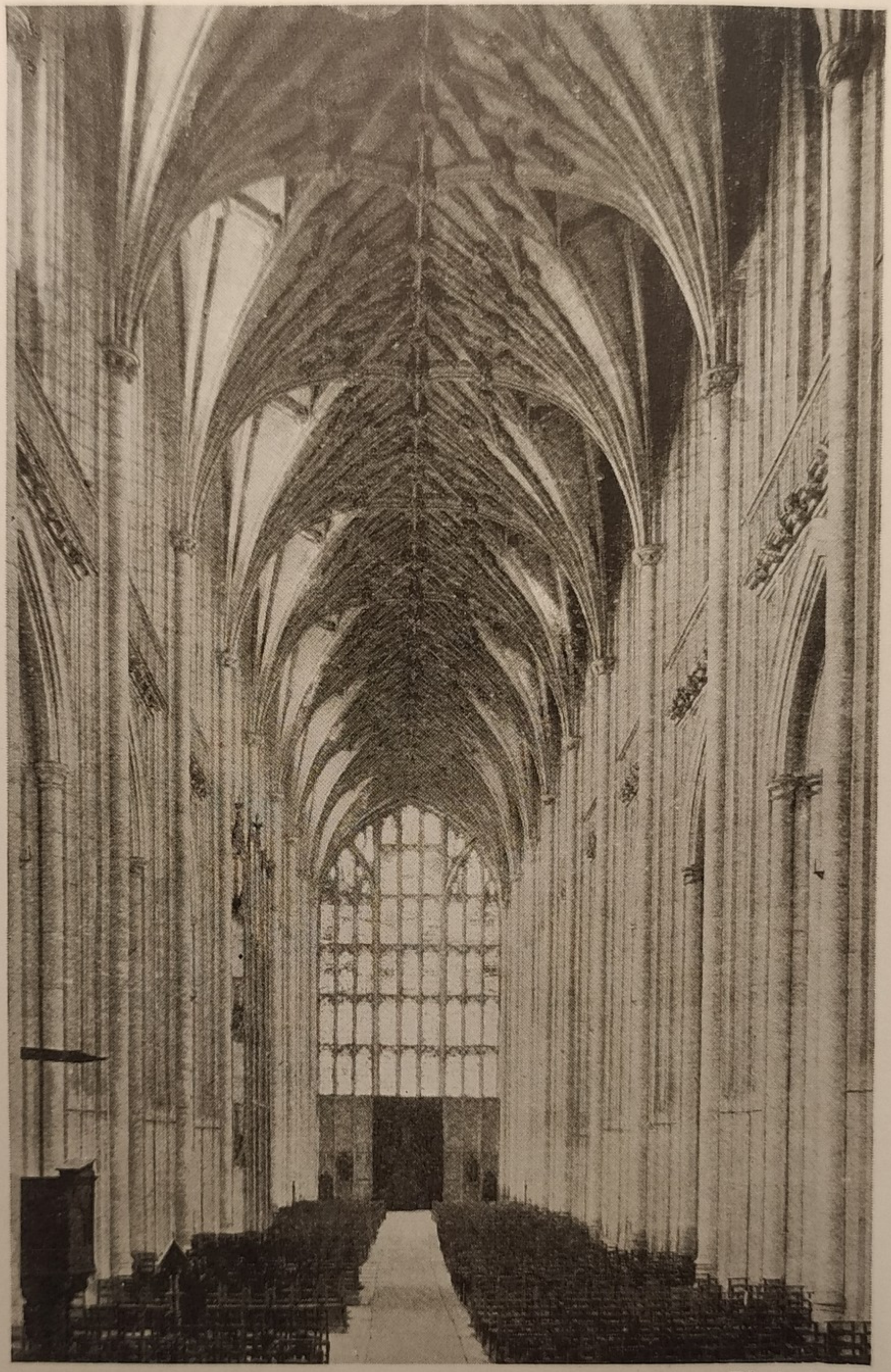
The greater part of the west end is filled by the huge Perpendicular window, which makes so poor a figure externally. From the interior it is much more satisfactory: the contour is good, though in arrangement it is again purely mechanical.

Generally speaking, the nave of Winchester, despite its qualities of soaring height, great length and imposing strength, rather lacks the deeper attribute of inspiration. It is too stiff and too formal, and its atmosphere is that of frigidity. I cannot agree that this is a general characteristic of English cathedrals. The nave of Wells

is cold, but that of Exeter is deliciously warm in its tinting, and the coldness even of Wells and Durham is not quite like the frozen rigidity of Winchester. This splendid nave—and splendid it is in conception and dimensions—fails in some fashion to impress. Artistically also it fails rather badly: the decorative features are so strangely coarse that I find it difficult to believe that they were ever finished.

The Font. The Norman font stands in the sixth bay on the north side. It is probably the most remarkable work of art in the cathedral. The basin is hollowed out of a square block of bluish-black marble, which is supported upon a central drum surrounded by four elaborated shafts. The four sides of the font itself are covered with primitive reliefs, considered to depict scenes from the life of St. Nicholas of Myra, and with medallions sculptured in the forms of birds and monsters. No attempt was made by the artists to ensure symmetry, for the medallions occupy two contiguous sides and the pictorial episodes the others. The sculpture is decidedly primitive, and it has been conjectured to be much earlier than the date to which it is generally attributed—the second half of the XIIth century. The principal argument in favour of the usually accepted date is that the mitre of the saint is of a type which was not used until the XIIth century.

The cult of St. Nicholas of Myra in Europe did not become general until the end of the XIth century. It began with the bringing of his relics to Bari in Italy in the year 1087, and thereafter spread rapidly. About 1125 there was performed in England a "mystery"



Photochrom

THE NAVE OF WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL LOOKING WEST

It is the Norman structure of Walkelyn transformed in the XIVth century by William of Edingdon and William of Wykeham.

on the subject of the raising from the dead by St. Nicholas of three beheaded youths—a miracle which is depicted upon the Winchester font—so that his cult

THE ROMANESQUE FONT OF THE TOURNAI TYPE IN THE NAVE OF WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL

It is of blue-black marble and was probably imported from the Continent by Henry de Blois.

must have been popular. During the next two centuries more than 360 churches were dedicated to him in England. No doubt the Western adventurers returning from the First Crusade did much to spread the renown

of this hitherto little known canonised bishop of the Eastern Church.

It is generally conceded that the curious blue-black marble is either of Belgian or Irish origin, and the resemblance of the Winchester font to others which came from Tournai, in Hainault, is so close as to render it certain that it came from that place, where was established, as early as the XIth century, a world-famous school of art.

I do not attach much importance to the argument of the mitre, because its fashion and the fashion of wearing it may have varied somewhat. Neither do I feel quite so sure that the architecture of the church on the south face of the font is distinctively Late Norman. The embellishment provided by the artist may have been a flight of imagination. The writer of this book, with the help of mathematical instruments and a vivid fancy, was producing all sorts of Romanesque and Gothic designs in his eleventh year, though of Romanesque and Gothic architecture—or of any architecture—he was blissfully ignorant. In short, I think it difficult to assign any very precise date to the font of Winchester. So far as Tournai is concerned the font might have been executed at any time from 1030 onward, and I am rather deeply impressed by the archaic character of the work. On the other hand, this archaism may have been a tradition. It may, at all events, be granted that the font came to Winchester from Tournai at some time during the XIIth century, and perhaps the magnificent Bishop Henry de Blois has the best claim to the title of donor.

There are only, so far as is known, ten other fonts

of the same type in Europe, and no less than six of them are in England—a total of seven, of which four, including this of the cathedral, are found in Hampshire. The others are at East Meon, at St. Mary's, Southampton, and St. Mary Bourne. The ancient font of Romsey Abbey, now destroyed, seems to have made a fifth. That there should have been five of these remarkable works of art collected near Winchester is a noteworthy fact and may indicate that their importation was due to the predilection of a single person —presumably the bishop.

Two more Tournai fonts are found in Lincolnshire —one in the cathedral, the other at Thornton Curtis, while the seventh of England's collection is at St. Peter's, Ipswich. It may be observed that all are at or near places which in the Middle Ages were in regular commercial intercourse with the Low Countries.

Chantries of the Nave. There are two chantries in the nave, associated with the two men who were primarily responsible for the Perpendicular transformation of the structure. In the last bay but one on the southern side is the chantry of William of Edingdon. It is a rather small and low Perpendicular building, the earliest of its character in the cathedral and also the simplest. It may never have been completed. The effigy of the political bishop is in fair condition; his stole bears a peculiar cross, called the "Fylfot" Cross.

In the fifth bay on the south side is the far more imposing chantry of William of Wykeham of immortal memory. It reaches from the pavement to the platform of the clerestory, one of the arches having been cut away to admit it. It is in ground-plan an octagon, two

sides being formed by the inner sides of the piers of the bay, while on either side three project into nave and aisle. The four retreating sides are solid: each had originally three trefoliated and arched niches one above the other, from which the statues have, of course, vanished. The two longer sides consist each of a triple arcade of very tall and slender beauty with delightfully elaborated arches. The upper portion of the arcade is open, the lower part is closed by a triple tier of arcading, of which the third and topmost is altogether the most beautiful, a true gem of delicate, almost lacelike sculpture.

At the east end of the chantry is the restored altar, with a piscina, and above the altar two rows of canopied niches, now filled by modern statues. The roof is a splendid lierne vault, coloured blue, relieved with gilt bosses.

Within the chapel is the tomb of the bishop-chancellor, mitred and vested, with his feet resting upon three figures apparently of ecclesiastics, while angels support the aged head. On the shields which decorate the sides of the table tomb appear the arms of the see and those of the bishop with his famous motto, "Manners Makyth Man"—a saying which one devoutly wishes men and women would take a little more to heart.

The chantry and tomb are in good condition, the effigy has suffered very little at the hands of iconoclasts. That was very largely due to Nathaniel Fiennes, the famous Parliamentarian, one of Oliver Cromwell's lords. When Winchester was captured in 1642 by Sir William Waller, his badly-disciplined levies com-

mitted much damage, and were ready to do more but for the courage and activity of Fiennes, who was besides an old Wintonian, and was filled with disgust at the behaviour of the men. He exerted himself gallantly to save the cathedral, and himself, sword in hand, stood guard over the chantry of William of Wykeham. It was a brave and creditable action on the part of a man whose life was always eminently honourable and distinguished by zeal for true religion, and certainly to him the cathedral of Winchester owes much.

Monuments in the Nave

The walls of the nave contain many monumental tablets and brasses, but comparatively few possess special interest. The most interesting is that to the memory of Jane Austen, who was born at Steventon (near Basingstoke) and for the first twenty-five years of her life left it only for brief holidays at Bath and elsewhere. In 1809, after the death of her father, Jane returned to her beloved Hampshire, and settled at Chawton with her mother and her elder sister, Cassandra. In May 1817 her health broke down, and she took lodgings in College Street, Winchester, in order to be within easy reach of Dr. Lyford, a medical practitioner of reputation. There she died on 18th July, and was buried in the north aisle of Winchester Cathedral. The actual grave is marked by a slab of black narble.

During her lifetime Jane Austen's merit was little recognised. It is comforting to authors who have not

yet achieved fame to know that *Pride and Prejudice* was offered to Cadell, *and rejected by return of post.* So much for the boasted acumen and conscientiousness of publishers! The fate of *Northanger Abbey* was, if possible, worse. It was sold in 1803 to a publisher at Bath for the magnificent sum of £10! The poor creature was afraid to print it, and in 1817, shortly after her death, took back the money and returned the MS. to one of Miss Austen's brothers who was arranging for the publication of the works which she left behind her. He was quite unaware that the writer was the author of four popular novels! All this seems too good or too bad to be true, but it appears to be the truth, nevertheless.

Miss Austen seems to have been a natural author—that is, she wrote as she thought without effort. Also she wrote only when in the mood. That is clear enough, for *Sense and Sensibility*, *Pride and Prejudice* and *Northanger Abbey* occupied her some twelve years. After the publication of *Sense and Sensibility* she apparently gave more of her time to literature, for between 1811 and 1816 she wrote *Mansfield Park*, *Emma*, and *Persuasion*, and commenced a fourth work which was never finished.

Different estimates have been made of the precise merits as a novelist of Jane Austen. As to her real genius, the opinion of Sir Walter Scott given in 1826 should be decisive. He said that her talent was the most wonderful he had ever met with. "The big bow-wow strain I can do myself like any now going; but the exquisite touch which renders ordinary commonplace things and characters interesting from the truth

ONE OF THE GATEWAYS OF THE CLOSE OF WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL

The picturesque timbered house is known as Cheyney Court.

of the description and the sentiment is denied to me. What a pity such a gifted creature died so young."

A sterner critic, perhaps a more incisive one—Macaulay—actually surpasses Sir Walter in enthusiastic eulogy. He said that Jane Austen approached Shakespeare nearer than any of our writers in drawing character. I can imagine no higher praise. Nor can the high opinion entertained of her by such men as Southey, Coleridge, Sydney Smith, Lord Holland, Sir James Mackintosh and Warren Hastings be lightly regarded. Among living critics whose opinion is likely to carry weight may be cited Lord Rosebery, whose appreciation of Jane Austen reaches enthusiasm.

Against that, perhaps, must be set the comparatively low opinion held of her by Charlotte Brontë—but the rather emotional and supersensitive Charlotte was not quite the person to appreciate the serene and equable lady from the Hampshire Downs. Her criticism was that Jane Austen was shrewd and observant, but lacked poetry and sentiment—which is exactly what one would have expected Charlotte Brontë to say, for it is the reverse of that which might be asserted of herself. Both opinions must be accepted with reserve: it is probably as untrue to assert that Charlotte Brontë was devoid of observant shrewdness as to declare that Jane Austen lacked poetry and sentiment. I should myself say that the former excelled in sentiment, while Jane Austen's excellence lay in delicate delineation of character, and in the charming domestic atmosphere in which all her figures live and move and have their being. Jane Austen was perhaps not so brilliant a writer as Charlotte Brontë, but very

much her superior as regards character portrayal. And so far as style is concerned, I have always considered Jane Austen as purer than her rival—her writing is sound English, whereas Charlotte Brontë was prone to drop into Gallicism and even to use Gallic words on the plea that there were no English terms which would "do."

Jane Austen seems to have been a really delightful woman—a perhaps unparalleled example of mental serenity and physical beauty harmoniously combined. She was a tall, graceful, pretty brunette, with fine brown eyes, curly brown hair, and finely-cut features. Her domestic life was one of the happiest imaginable: she seems to have loved and been loved by everyone with whom she came in contact, and especially by children. And with that let this most brief and fragmentary notice of Jane Austen close, for no woman who was loved by children as she was could have been devoid of strong and deep feeling.

After that of Jane Austen all the other memorials in the nave of Winchester seem extremely commonplace, but a word must be spared for that of Sir Henry Elliott, K.C.B., who was Foreign Secretary of India under Lords Hardinge and Dalhousie. Of the remaining monuments interest is absorbed by those of the regiments which have been, and are, associated with Winchester—the Hampshire Regiment, the South Hampshires (67th Foot), the North Hampshires (37th Foot), the Rifle Brigade (95th Foot), the King's Royal Rifle Corps (60th Foot), and the 97th Foot. Every one of these regiments has a long and meritorious record, though perhaps the Rifle units are best remembered.

Certainly they have the tallest opinion of themselves, and as far as my information goes, have always entertained it. General Robert Crawfurd, Wellington's famous lieutenant, came in contact with it when he took command of the Light Division in the Peninsula, and most unfairly (?) disapproved of it. As he observed one day, addressing a crowd of savage war-worn Riflemen: "You think just because you are Riflemen that you can do what you (unprintable remarks) please, but I'm going to teach you that you can't!"

But, setting aside such things, both the Rifle Brigade and the King's Royal Rifle Corps have a reputation second to none in the world, and the Hampshires are not far behind them. The ancient title of the K.R.R. was the Royal Americans, and its Rifle Battalion was created in 1798. It was formed out of the remains of various wrecked units of German light infantry in British pay and, instead of the scarlet uniform coat, was clothed in one of dark green—the famous "Rifle green." Two years later, Colonel Coote Manningham formed a purely British unit on the same lines, called the "Experimental Rifle Corps," which was taken into the service as the Rifle Brigade.

It might almost be said that these two rifle regiments had a larger share in winning the Peninsular War than any other corps of equal strength. It is interesting to see how this came about. The French practice, which probably arose simply out of the fact that the revolutionary levies were without drill and discipline and could not fight steadily in order, was to attack with one company of a battalion in loose order while the remaining five followed in a dense column. The

Austrians and Prussians, who were their usual opponents, stood to receive them in close ranks which fired steady volleys at word of command. But against the loose firing line their close volleys were largely wasted, since there was no continuous target. Meanwhile the constant patter of bullets from the French sharpshooters was riddling the dense ranks so that, as a rule, when the lines closed, the heavy battalion masses of the French were able to break them.

It was all very pretty, remarked Wellington, when he went to the Peninsula—also quite wrong. He met it by heavily strengthening his own skirmishing lines. Each infantry battalion had its light company trained for that purpose. But Wellington broke up the 5th Battalion of the 60th Foot and distributed one company of it to each of his brigades, except the 3rd Division, which was given three. When his army increased he did the same, using a battalion of Brunswick light infantry. As if this were not enough, he raised no less than twelve battalions of Portuguese riflemen, and every British division, except the 1st, received one of them. Besides, he formed a Light Division, consisting of the 43rd, 52nd and the 95th Rifles, together with the two crack Portuguese Rifle battalions, the 1st and 3rd Caçadores.

The result of all this careful providing of riflemen was that the unhappy French, who had trampled roughshod over everything in Europe, received a terrible lesson in tactics. First their skirmishing line found itself opposed by one of equal strength and better training, so that it had to be strengthened by whole battalions from its supports before it could

push it back. But behind the British firing line was the rest of the regiment or brigade, drawn up two deep, and when the unlucky "storm columns" of the French came charging through their *tirailleurs* they were invariably met by a volley which, *just as invariably*, sent them reeling to the rear. I can hardly find a single instance in which they succeeded in closing. Perhaps the most perfect example of the new British tactics was almost the first—at Bussaco, 27th September, 1810, when thirteen French battalions attacked a height defended by Crawfurd's Light Division composed as above. First of all they were held and tormented by the 95th and the 1st Portuguese who "played" them halfway up the hill. Then Crawfurd sent down the 3rd Portuguese, and the three battalions continued the game, skirmishing steadily, shooting down officers and men, and forcing the French general, Loison, to throw in battalion after battalion in order to press back the obstinate three which were holding thirteen. The French division suffered terribly; it fell more and more into disorder, and when at last it reached the top of the hill it was confused and flurried and, being composed of intelligent Frenchmen, knew very well that only by mere force of numbers had it thrust in the Anglo-Portuguese riflemen; while behind the crest the 43rd and the 52nd were grimly waiting.

On top of the ridge General Robert Crawfurd, a little hard-faced, blue-jowled Scotsman, with a frightful temper and no manners, stood directing the fight, waiting till the French should be delivered into his hands. Up the hill, nearer and nearer, came the green coats of the Rifles and Caçadores, giving way slowly,

Photochrom

THE CHOIR OF WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL

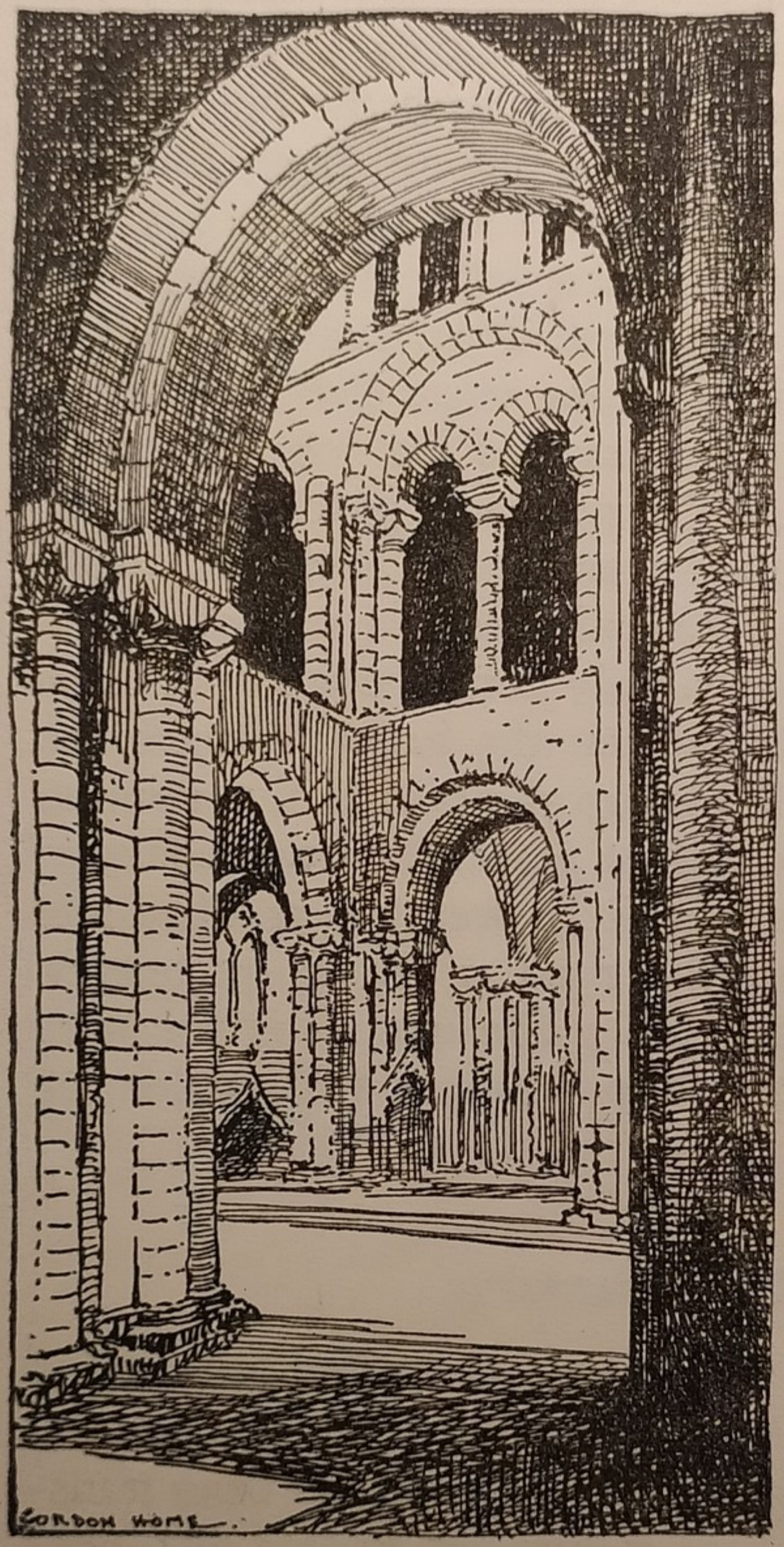
Showing the magnificent reredos (date uncertain) and the beautiful XIIIth-century choir stalls, with Prior Silkstede's pulpit on the left and the supposed tomb of William Rufus in the centre.

as skirmishers should, firing steadily and carefully and exacting three lives for one of their own. At last they were on the crown of the ridge with the blue-coated soldiers of Napoleon pressing among them, thinking that after their sore ordeal on the slope the day was their own, while the riflemen fell back through the intervals of the 43rd and 52nd. Then Crawfurd waved his hat, and his high screaming voice cleft the uproar: "Now, 43rd! Avenge the death of Sir John Moore!" and the scarlet line of the 43rd and 52nd rose in the very faces of the astounded *enfants de Napoléon*. Headlong into the tangle of skirmishers and supports went the two regiments, and simply flung the whole division into the valley. It had taken the gallant Frenchmen an hour to fight their way up the hill: in five minutes they were hurled to its foot again. The two charging British regiments lost precisely twenty-four killed and wounded, against nearly 1300 of their opponents. Such, with many others of a like nature, is the story told by these time-stained monuments and mouldering standards.

The Transepts

The transepts of Winchester Cathedral are especially noteworthy, for while everywhere else the massive Romanesque work of Bishop Walkelyn has been transformed or masked, here it survives to this day, very slightly altered and, in the north transept, not hidden by later additions.

The North Transept is the less altered of the two and is from the archæological point of view the more



THE NORTH TRANSEPT OF WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL

Showing a corner of the curious gallery, a unique feature in English cathedrals.

interesting, since in surveying it the observer can form a very clear impression of the cathedral of Walkelyn. Each transept has three bays with perfectly plain Norman arches carried upon equally plain grouped columns, and separated from each other by solid, rectangular piers. Indeed, the impression conveyed is not that of an arcade, but of a massive wall pierced by openings. On this massy superstructure stands the tall triforium, which is as lofty as the main arcade itself. Each bay consists of a Norman arch enveloping two

smaller ones, all severely plain, not to say crudely simple. At each end of both transepts is a transverse arcade of two arches supporting a gallery, a very curious and unusual feature. The design was presumably to form a clear way for processions at the level of the triforium.

The masonry in general is extremely rude, with roughly dressed and by no means regularly shaped blocks of stone, set in very thick beds of mortar. Towards the crossing, where the fall of the tower necessitated rebuilding, the masonry is entirely different, with beautifully worked stones accurately fitted, and very fine mortar joints. The arches of this later work are stilted—indeed they are practically Saracenic or horseshoe in outline. Whether this is deliberate, or whether it is the result of excessive pressure upon them, it is not easy to decide, but the peculiar contour is a fact.[1]

Between the two great piers supporting the tower is the small chapel of the Holy Sepulchre, which still retains its ancient mural and roof decoration of paintings illustrating the life of Christ, much faded and defaced, but still discernible. On the east side the piers of the second bay have been cut away to receive Decorated canopies, which at one time probably shadowed small altars. At the north end is a Decorated recess tomb. In the midst of the transept are two modern monuments, one the tomb of Prebendary Iremonger, the other the cenotaph of General Sir Redvers Buller. More than twenty years have passed

[1] [The present form of these arches has probably resulted from pressure.—EDITOR.]

since the South African War, and the comparative failure in high command of a brave soldier and an estimable man may now be mentioned without injustice and without bitterness. Sir Redvers had a very difficult task before him in Natal, and he did not prove quite equal to coping with it. His fine record in earlier wars will not readily be forgotten, neither will the memory of the affection with which he inspired his soldiers.

The western aisle of this transept is screened off as a chapel for private devotion.

THE SOUTH TRANSEPT has received much more decoration and addition than its fellow on the north side. It is separated from the crossing by a high screen wall, in which is a recess showing the last stage of the transition from Norman to Early English. The upper portion of the wall is decorated with a graceful Late Norman interlaced arcade. The recess is flanked by tall and narrow Norman doorways.

This transept, though less stern and bleak than that on the north side, is in some sense less attractive by reason of the enclosure of its aisles for various purposes. The western aisle contains the chapter-house and a vestry: the location of the former in the south transept is legalised by ancient custom, and certainly the huge cathedral contains space enough and to spare, but none the less the walling off of the aisles impairs the appearance of the building. The vestry was once the treasury of Henry de Blois; it has a beautiful enriched Norman doorway.

The eastern aisle contains, nearest to the choir, the Venerable Chapel, separated from the transept by a

Perpendicular screen of six bays, crowned by canopies and containing some beautiful ironwork of a slightly later date than the screen itself. Next to it is the chapel of Prior Silkstede (1524), a beautiful little Late Perpendicular adaptation of the Norman aisle, with a graceful four-bayed screen and much elaborate tabernacle work and sculpture, amid which may readily be discerned the prior's rebus, a skein of silk. The window is filled with modern stained glass in memory of Izaak Walton, who lies buried in this chapel, the grave marked by a black marble slab.

In the centre of the transept is the gorgeous modern tomb of Bishop Wilberforce (1869–1873), designed by Sir Gilbert Scott and displaying the usual merits and defects of that artist's work. It has, I think, considerable beauty and, except for the clumsy finials of its eight gables, I should give it a tribute of unstinted admiration as a very fine and vigorous copy of Decorated Gothic art—but it looks terribly out of place among the Romanesque arcades of the south transept of Winchester.

The Library. In the south transept is the staircase to the library, a long low gallery-like chamber, built in 1668 upon the vaulted passage between the transept and the now vanished chapter-house. It contains nearly 4000 MSS. and books, many of which were presented by Bishop Morley, who in 1662 succeeded Charles I.'s chaplain, Brian Duppa. The greatest treasure of the collection is a splendid XIIth-century MS. of the Vulgate[1] Bible in three volumes, be-

[1] The Vulgate Version of the Bible was in Latin, and was prepared by St. Jerome in the IVth century.

queathed by Bishop Nicholas of Ely in 1282. With it is a charter of King Aethelwulf dated 854, and signed by St. Swithun and Prince Alfred, afterwards King Alfred the Great. As the latter was then *less than five years old* his signature must have been executed for him—or else be a later interpolation. There are also: an XIth-century MS. of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, a XIIth-century *Life of Edward the Confessor* by Aelred of Rievaulx, and the chapter records. In the treasury are: the Great Seal of Henry V., the pastoral staff of Bishop Fox, the rings of Fox, Gardiner and Woodlock, and lastly, the sapphire ring from the so-called tomb of William Rufus, which is usually considered to be that of Henry de Blois.

The Choir

On the side of the cathedral are the remains of the cloister, of which only a fragment of one arcade survives. It is of the same simple almost crude type as the transepts and the now Perpendicular encased nave.

The screen which separates the choir from the nave is modern, the work of Sir Gilbert Scott; it is a careful copy of the ancient woodwork within, and with this there is really no more to be said.

The choir occupies the space beneath the tower, and extends beyond it for three bays to the magnificent reredos, while on the west it reaches to the boundary of the crossing. The choir stalls fill the space on both sides as far as the second pair of tower piers. The aspect of the four huge piers and the four Nor-

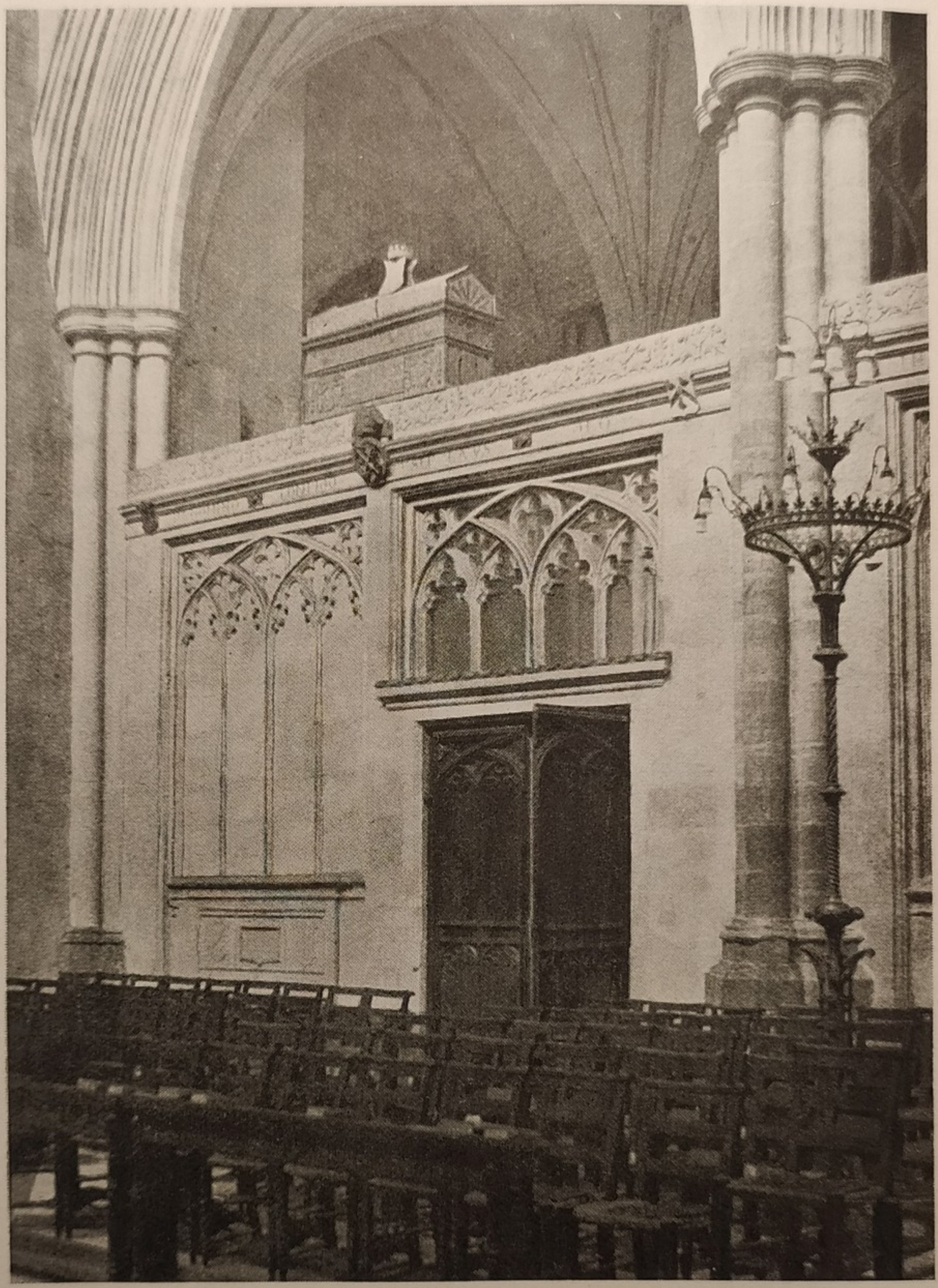
THE NORMAN WEST CLOISTER ARCADE

The most perfectly-preserved portion of this feature of the monastic buildings of Winchester.

man arches which support the tower is one of great majesty, almost sublimity, owing to the bulk of the piers themselves and the loftiness of the archways.

The true choir or presbytery to the eastward of the crossing is less majestic than the latter, but very beautiful, much more than compensating the observer for any disappointment, real or imaginary, on the score of the nave. The Perpendicular bays are effective; the finely contoured arches spring from grouped piers which have something of the feeling of those of Exeter, and the lofty clerestory is much more satisfactory than that of the nave. The slightly apsidal east end completes the effect of picturesqueness, and the splendid reredos constitutes an embellishment which has no superior in England.

From elaborately sculptured corbels, imposed upon the walls at about half the height of the clerestory, springs the beautiful timber vaulting, apparently the idea of William of Wykeham, though the sculpture of the many bosses indicates that the work was restored and remodelled by one bishop after another, down to Fox, whose armorial bearings appear on more than one of them. The heraldic insignia commence with those of the royal houses of England and Castile—the latter reminiscent of the marriage of John of Gaunt to Constance, daughter of Pedro "the Cruel." With them are associated the arms of Cardinal Beaufort, and Fox not only added his own, but also those of the various episcopal sees which he held in succession. Above and behind the altar all the bosses are sculptured with subjects taken from the New Testament, and for the most part connected with the death of



G H.

THE SCREEN ON THE NORTH SIDE OF THE CHOIR OF WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL

Upon this Perpendicular addition are placed the mortuary chests in which were collected the remains of the pre-Conquest kings of England and Wessex buried at Winchester.

Christ. Some are very quaint in conception, not to say broadly humorous. The cock which crowed thrice while Peter denied his Lord may be passed—so may the dice, and one could hardly expect a mediæval artist to omit all the appliances of torture—but a sword with the ear of Malchus still adhering to it is a decidedly odd fancy. The only non-biblical subject, I think, is the "Veronica"—it will be remembered that St. Veronica is said to have wiped the dust from her Saviour's face when He fell beneath the Cross. Her reward was that His likeness was impressed upon her handkerchief. The miraculous piece of linen, by the way, was supposed to be at Edessa 1300 years later, and the Byzantine armies when they recaptured that city from the Mohammedans carried it home to Constantinople in triumph. The "Veronica" is above the centre of the reredos.

The vaulting beneath the tower is also of timber, but belongs to a year as late as 1634. It is fairly effective for its age; the decorations are mostly of the heraldic type, including those of Charles I., Queen Henrietta Maria, and the Prince of Wales, those of Scotland and Ireland, of Archbishop Laud, Bishop Curle, and Dean Young, with medallions of the king and queen, all grouped round a central boss emblematic of the Trinity.

The Side Screens and Mortuary Chests. From the east side of the crossing to the reredos the choir is separated from the aisles by the screens of Bishop Fox, upon which stand the six mortuary caskets within which repose the bones of many early English kings. They were first collected and enshrined by

Henry de Blois, and enclosed within the present caskets by Bishop Fox. Even these relics of the dead were not safe from the hands of the rude Parliamentary soldiers, who amused themselves by throwing the bones of departed kings through the stained glass. Cromwell, as usual, is saddled with the guilt of this sacrilege, though it was committed by the undisciplined troops of Sir William Waller at a time when Cromwell was a colonel of cavalry in the Eastern Counties. Cromwell had, no doubt, a Puritanical hatred of elaborate ritual and what he might have called idols, but the iron discipline which he kept among his soldiers is well known. Even Waller must have managed to restore order, for there is no doubt that the bones were collected and replaced.

There can, of course, be no certainty as to the identity of the remains, but contained within the six there are those of Kynegils, the first Christian King of Wessex, and of a number of his successors down to Ecgberht. Of Kings of All England (the title was often nominal) there are Ecgberht, his son Aethelwulf, Eadweard the Elder, Eadmund I., Eadred, Cnut the Dane, Harthacnut, and probably William Rufus, as well as Emma, the somewhat unamiable wife of Aethelred II. and Cnut, and several early bishops of Winchester. Of the best and noblest of all the Kings of England there is no memorial here: the resting-place of the mortal remains of King Alfred no man knows, but his name lives for ever. Even in an age when ignorance of history is almost a boast, there is hardly a child who does not know something of Alfred the Great.

THE STALLS AND MISERERES. Both sides of the choir proper beneath the tower are lined with the beautiful stalls, perhaps the finest examples of XIIIth-century sculpture in wood to be found in England. Their style is Early Decorated; it still retains much of Early English feeling, but the spandrels and gables show the approach of the Decorated period. The general effect is one of extraordinary beauty of craftsmanship and richness of elaboration. The single feature which is not quite satisfying from the artistic point of view is, perhaps, the very slender wooden shafts between the canopy arcades. They are so slender that their inability to sustain anything is obvious, and in consequence they proclaim themselves as mere decorative features. No other defect can be found: the sculpture in relief on the spandrels of the blind arcading at the back of the stalls is exquisite, and the beauty of the canopies is something which must be seen to be realised. Beneath the seats are the misereres, which are considerably earlier than the canopies, but are not considered to be quite so ancient as those at Exeter, which were probably executed about 1225. A detailed description cannot here be given for lack of space, and they are not usually shown. Perhaps the queerest is one on the north side. It has two bosses, one of which depicts a pig playing a fiddle, while the other has a porcine trumpet-blower and piglings suckling.

THE PULPIT, though it has not the grace and charm of the canopied stalls, is yet a very fine example of early XVIth-century sculpture in wood. It was the gift of Prior Silkstede. The canopy is of the domed shape which may be seen in the turret pinnacles of

Henry VII.'s Chapel at Westminster, and displays a mass of gorgeous carving—not a square inch seems to be undecorated. At a little distance the effect is one of rather bewildering magnificence. Regarded more closely one obtains an impression of something like vulgarity; the ridges are too much elaborated, and the finial is not prepossessing. Also the erection does not harmonise with the canopies of the stalls—which is unfortunate. Considered by itself the pulpit is a fine example of gorgeous wood-sculpture, and in a Tudor church like that of Tiverton, or Cirencester, it would be in its proper environment.

The Bishop's Throne is modern and calls for no notice.

"The Tomb of William Rufus." The so-called tomb of William Rufus stands in the centre of the choir beneath the tower, precisely in the place where the Red King is said to have been buried. It is a plain coped tomb of Purbeck marble, and certainly bears the impress of antiquity. It was violated by the Parliamentary troops of Waller, and a gold ring, set with a sapphire, and a silver chalice were found, besides "dust" and the remains of gold-embroidered robes. In 1868 it was examined and found to contain the bones of a man about five feet eight inches tall, which appeared to have been wrapped in lead, and with them were shreds of red cloth embroidered with gold. For various reasons the tomb is now held to be that of Henry de Blois.

The reasons do not seem to me to be satisfying. Certainly the gold ring set with a sapphire *may* indicate the body of a bishop, but scarlet, gold-embroidered

G. H.

THE IMPOSING CHANTRY OF CARDINAL BEAUFORT

In the retrochoir of Winchester Cathedral. The brightly-painted effigy in its scarlet cardinal's hat lies beneath a most elaborately tabernacled superstructure.

robes indicate royalty rather than episcopacy. The skeleton as described suits the extant description of Rufus very well—a powerfully-built man of middle height. And the position of this tomb is that ascribed to the resting-place of the Red King, whereas I understand the description of Bishop Henry's burial to indicate that he lies in front of the high altar. Therefore, until some more convincing evidence has been produced, I think that this simple tomb may actually be that of the terrible Red King who, so long as he was in the enjoyment of his usual rude health, feared neither God nor man. Apparently the bones were not examined with a view to ascertaining if there were any traces of an arrow wound: the fatal shaft may well have left its mark in a shattered rib or a splintering of the spine.

THE REREDOS. Looking down upon the magnificence of the choir stands the splendid reredos, certainly the finest of its type in England. It fills the whole breadth of the building, and its cornice rises well above the balustrade of the clerestory-triforium. As with some other features of Winchester Cathedral, there is much uncertainty concerning the date. It has been attributed to Cardinal Beaufort, also to Bishop Fox and Prior Silkstede—which involves a trifling interval of a century or thereabouts! Having been confronted elsewhere with such differences of date in specimens of architecture, apparently of the same style, I always feel deep hesitation in assigning a definite period to any particular work, and in this case there is not a single detail of heraldry or inscription which may afford a clue, except the Tudor roses of the cornice. To me

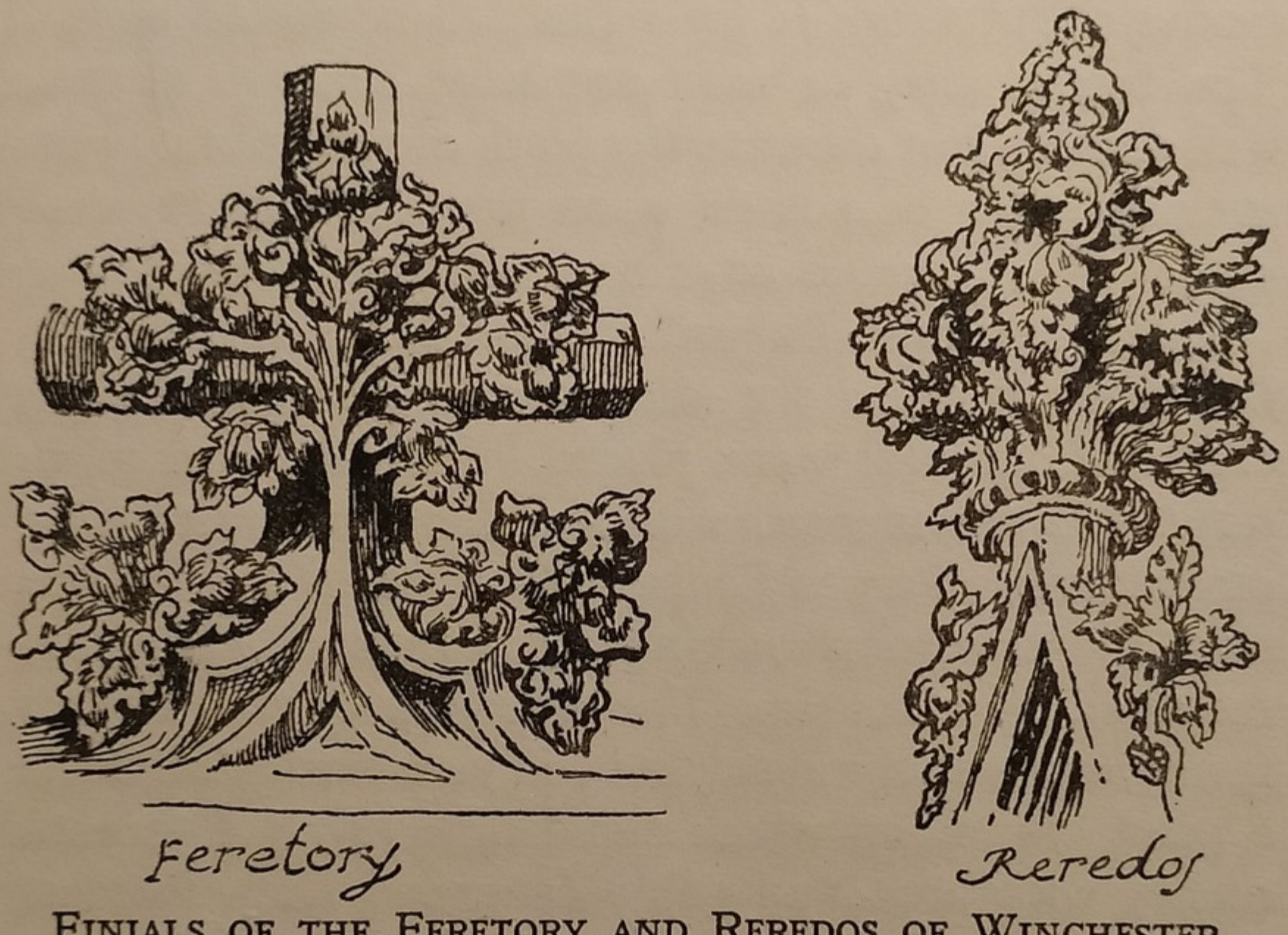
the greater part of the magnificent erection seems to bear the stamp of the xvth century—and its earlier rather than its later portion. The cornice may have been added by Fox, who may also have been responsible for much restoration. I think, too, that he inserted the doors which seem not to have been a part of the original plan. But the whole structure impresses me as being of the early xvth century, and, therefore, the work of Cardinal Beaufort and, perhaps, in part, of William of Waynflete. In particular, the delicacy of the sculpture as compared with that of the xvith-century pulpit indicates a time when Perpendicular Gothic was in its florescence; that is from about 1375 to 1450.

In principle the reredos has a centre and two wings, separated from one another by buttresses and flanked by two more, making four in all. On the face of each buttress are three canopied niches one above another; and I think that the wing spaces were originally designed in the same fashion, but to-day the lowermost niche is occupied by a door.

The central space consists, in the first place, of a great crucifix wrought most beautifully and ingeniously into canopy and tabernacle work. Its base is formed by a range of seven small canopied niches, of which the central one is broader than the others in order to correspond in breadth with the upright of the great cross. Beneath the two arms of the cross are two niches, with triple canopies, containing statues of the Virgin and St. John the Evangelist. Above the arms of the cross is a canopy of the most exquisite delicacy of fretwork, which in its turn forms the base

for four canopied niches containing angels. The continuation of the upright of the cross forms a canopy above the head of the Saviour, and the entire composition is crowned by a cornice.

This description must sound mechanical, and it may be said that, apart from the ingenuity with which



FINIALS OF THE FERETORY AND REREDOS OF WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL

the cross is wrought into the complex of niches and canopies, the arrangement is simple enough. But it is perhaps this which gives its special quality of fairy-like beauty to the structure. From the entrance to the choir the effect is neither more nor less than fairy-like. At close quarters the impression of the rarest beauty merely becomes deeper: the delicacy of the sculpture is more apparent than ever. There is, I think, no monument of equal dimensions and of the same period

which can for a moment claim to be the peer of this wonderful work of the Perpendicular school of Gothic art in its prime. With its reredos and its stalls the choir of Winchester holds its own with any sanctuary in Europe.

The statuary of the reredos is for the most part modern, but there is little fault to be found with it. The figures may or may not have been in all cases well chosen, but they are the work of artists, and whatever criticism be passed upon them, the great screen without them would have been miserably bare.

THE FERETORY. Behind the reredos is the feretory, the space wherein the shrines of the saints of Winchester Cathedral were placed. The rear face of the reredos is ornamented with a rather conventional and monotonous Perpendicular blind arcading in four tiers, the uppermost having a continuous canopy surmounted by a cornice. The rear wall of the feretory, facing towards the retrochoir, is very beautiful. It has a plain base upon which stand nine lovely Decorated niches with arch and gable canopies. Each formerly contained two figures, a saint and a king. Beneath the feretory is a small vault entered by a door in the rear wall. In it were kept the most precious relics, and it is accordingly designated to-day by the somewhat colloquial appellation of "The Holy Hole."

THE AISLES OF THE CHOIR. The choir aisles are generally similar to the choir, and call for no particular architectural notice. They are notable chiefly for the two chantries which are situated in them, one that of Bishop Fox in the southern aisle, the other that of Gardiner in the northern one.

The Fox Chantry. The chantry of Bishop Fox is decidedly the most gorgeous if not the most beautiful in the cathedral. Its front shows a base of four bays or compartments with an open upper screen, likewise in four bays, the whole crowned by a cornice in four sections, separated by turret pinnacles, each section divided by a small pedestal carrying the statuette of an angel. The door is in the left-hand bay of the base, and in the third is a recess containing the skeleton-effigy favoured by the lugubrious fancy of that age. There is no tomb: the altar is surmounted by a small reredos and there is a small chamber at the east end. The chantry is very gorgeous, but is perhaps a little too gorgeous for beauty.

The Gardiner Chantry. That of Bishop Fox is, however, body and head above the chantry of Bishop Gardiner, which stands on the opposite side of the feretory in the north choir aisle. It is in design a quite dignified structure, and from across the retro-choir is by no means unpleasing. But it belongs to a decadent artistic age, and it displays a most incongruous mixture of styles. The base is a sort of Italian Renaissance; the openings of the screen are fair Perpendicular; the cornice is Renaissance once more. All this sounds really dreadful; it is curious that the reality is not quite so bad as it sounds from description. Gardiner's chantry should be hideous—but is not. In the interior, very fitly, is the chair on which Queen Mary sat when she was married by Gardiner to Philip of Austria, King of Spain.

The Retrochoir. The retrochoir is not the least interesting and is certainly a very beautiful part of

the ancient cathedral. Whereas, so far, Norman and Perpendicular architecture have been described, on passing the elaborate gorgeousness of the Fox Chantry the visitor finds himself in a building which is very pure Early English. It consists of three aisles, each of three bays with simple groined vaults. The arches are of admirable outline, neither too opulent nor too meagre, and are borne upon very graceful grouped and banded piers. Each bay is lighted by twin lancets, and beneath the lancets the wall is relieved by a simple but remarkably pleasing blind arcade. The pavement has retained the greater part of its ancient tiles, and in brief, we have in the retrochoir of Winchester a splendid example of Early English architecture, almost as undisturbed as when it left the hands of the master-builders of Geoffrey de Lucy.

THE MONUMENTS OF THE RETROCHOIR. Two monuments dominate all else in the retrochoir. One is the chantry of Cardinal de Beaufort, the other that of William of Waynflete, those two remarkable figures which fill the pages of Winchester's history for eighty years of the XVth century. They have a strong resemblance to one another, but differ in their lower portions. The openings of all chantry chapels, it must be noted, were originally glazed, and while the Waynflete Chapel has three windows of equal depth on each side, that of the cardinal has two very deep openings reaching almost to the floor, flanked by much smaller apertures. Both are surmounted by most elaborate tabernacling, which, as a former observer not unjustly declared, "bewilder the sight and senses by their number and complexity." The painted effigy of William

of Waynflete is a modern restoration, and the chantry is fitly kept in repair by the bishop's immortal foundation of Magdalen College at Oxford. In similar fashion the Beaufort Chantry is maintained by the Dukes of Beaufort. At the east end is the effigy, also painted in bright colours, of the great cardinal in full canonicals, with the tasselled and corded hat crowning the fine head with its handsome serene face—the face of a man who for what he conceived to be the right could do both good and evil, but would certainly do it steadily and fearlessly.

Between the two great chantries is a tomb with the single military effigy in Winchester Cathedral—that of a knight in full armour of the middle of the XIIIth century, with crossed legs, the feet resting upon a crouching lion, the head upon cushions which were once supported by angels. The pointed shield is one of the earliest examples of one "quartered" with armorial bearings, which are those of the Béarnese family of Gaveston. Hence it has sometimes been called that of Edward II.'s favourite, Piers de Gaveston, but this is impossible, as it is certain that he was buried at King's Langley. The most probable suggestion is that the tomb contains the bones of the favourite's father, Sir Arnauld de Gaveston, a brave soldier who was knighted for good service by Edward I.

Between the Waynflete Chantry and the north wall is the plain grave of Bishop Peter des Roches, and east of the Gaveston tomb is that of Geoffrey de Lucy, who was properly laid to rest amid the glories of his own special addition to the cathedral of Winchester.

In the retrochoir to-day are the Rolls of Honour

of the Rifle Brigade and the King's Royal Rifle Corps, carefully written in beautifully bound volumes and deposited in cases of oak and bronze. The idea is a good one, but I fear for the permanence of these perishable records.

THE LADY CHAPEL. At the east end of the retro-choir is the not unusual triplet of chapels which terminates the cathedral in this direction. The Lady Chapel was commenced by Geoffrey de Lucy and completed by Priors Hunton and Silkstede as late as 1524. It consists, therefore, of one Early English bay and one in the Perpendicular style, which contrast very sharply, but are held together by the beautiful XVIth-century vault of the roof. The Early English bay has its walls decorated on either side with six blind lancets grouped in pairs beneath three trefoliated arches, while in the tympanum above is a quatrefeuille flanked by trefoils. The conception is a little odd, and not altogether pleasing. The Perpendicular portion is comparatively simple, but the tracery of the seven-light east window is elaborate, and in some respects almost unique. The plain masonry of the walls is almost hidden from view by the gorgeously sculptured panelling and seats added to the chapel by Bishop Fox. The most remarkable feature, however, is the wall painting—nineteen subjects executed for Prior Silkstede in 1489, and so archaic in character that they might be assigned to a much earlier date. They deal with the legendary life of the Virgin.

Behind the altar is a modern reredos to the memory of Charlotte M. Yonge, the author. The writer acknowledges with real gratitude the delight which

he experienced in boyhood when reading her romances of chivalry and old English life in town and country.

THE CHAPEL OF THE GUARDIAN ANGELS. To the left of the Lady Chapel is that dedicated to the Guardian Angels. It is to all intents and purposes a continuation of the north aisle of the retrochoir. It was fitted up as his chantry by Bishop Adam de Orleton, but there is no trace of the tomb, though he is known to be buried here. On the south side is the monument of Richard Weston, Earl of Portland, Treasurer to Charles I. It has a bronze effigy of the earl by Le Sueur, and above are four tabernacles, three of which contain mutilated busts. Here, also, is interred Bishop Peter Mews, the martial ecclesiastic who trained King James's guns at the Battle of Sedgmoor. There is a mural tablet to his memory.

The vaulting of the chapel is especially noteworthy. It is of fine Early English character, and on its surfaces between the ribs are painted figures usually called "seraphim," wonderfully fresh in colour after the lapse of six centuries or more. On the north side is an aumbry.

BISHOP LANGTON'S CHAPEL. The chapel on the south side is the chantry of Bishop Thomas Langton, but the building itself is substantially the work of Geoffrey de Lucy. The vault was transformed by Langton and his rebus appears on the central boss. The chapel is lined on three sides by oak tabernacle and canopy work of the most gorgeous description, the finest in the cathedral, but unhappily much mutilated. The bishop's tomb is in the centre of the transformed building.

The Crypt. The entrance to the crypt is in the north transept. It consists of a central apse-ended nave, with very narrow openings into the aisles, and with five columns down its centre. Outside this nucleus is an ambulatory, and, thrown out to the eastward, a quite independent crypt, which once extended beneath the original Lady Chapel, but is now below the retrochoir. Beneath the present Lady Chapel is a third crypt, while underneath the Chapel of the Guardian Angels is a vault. The main crypt and the second one are of Early Norman architecture, precisely similar to that of the transepts, while the third, beneath the Lady Chapel, is Early English, evidently the work of Geoffrey de Lucy.

The structure is extraordinarily impressive by reason of its dimensions, complexity and gloomy massiveness. The aspect of strength is overwhelming, greater than that given by the almost equally impressive crypt at Gloucester. The piers are huge, squat and massive, utterly destitute of ornament; the spirit of the north transept has been transferred to the crypt. Down the centre of the nave is a line of five columns which divide and support the gloomy groinings of the vault. A similar line of five is in the first eastern extension. Some of the capitals are cushion, others a simple abacus. The whole feeling of the building is one of stern, almost forbidding gloom; certainly there is nothing of the charm and beauty of Canterbury. There is here unadorned strength and little more, but the impressiveness of the crypt is immense.

CHAPTER III

THE HOSPITAL OF ST. CROSS, WINCHESTER

While the great cathedral dominates Winchester and is almost the only edifice in the city itself which combines historical association with architectural interest, there is, a short mile to the south, on the road to Southampton, a group of buildings possessing in some respects even greater fascination than the mighty fane of Walkelyn and William of Wykeham. This is the Hospital (a better word would be "Hospice," or Almshouse) of St. Cross, probably the most ancient institution of its type in England.

It was founded in 1136 by that princely bishop and statesman, Henry de Blois, on the site of a small religious house which had been destroyed by the Danes—probably by Sweyn Forkbeard in January 1007, when he raided Wessex and ravaged everything up to the gates of Winchester. The founder's plan was to afford shelter and subsistence to "thirteen poor men, feeble, and so reduced in strength that they can hardly or with difficulty support themselves with another's aid," and to provide daily with a meal a hundred poor men. The latter were clearly of the temporarily destitute class, not superannuated paupers like the inmates. The purpose of the institution was

worthy of all honour, and is useful as testifying to the fact that these mediæval princes, with all their pride of birth and martial frenzy, were not by any means such brutal oppressors as many well-meaning but ill-informed persons are prone to believe. The odd number of thirteen was, of course, adopted with reference to Christ and the twelve Apostles of Christianity.

The early management of the hospice was perhaps confided to a committee of cathedral dignitaries, but evidently this arrangement did not work well for, in 1157, Bishop Henry entrusted the administration to the Knights Hospitallers (Knights of St. John). The principal result, however, was the outbreak of dissension between the knights and the successors of Henry de Blois. Accordingly, in 1200, Geoffrey de Lucy obtained a Papal Bull which vested in the bishops the right of choosing the master. With strong bishops this was well enough, but when the occupant of the episcopal chair was a political absentee, as was the case with John of Stratford, Adam of Orleton, and William of Edingdon, there was a field fruitful of abuses, and when William of Wykeham took over the see he found the state of affairs to be intolerable and scandalous. The value of the endowments had increased, but instead of being devoted to the purposes of the hospital the revenues were embezzled by the masters. To this the energetic bishop put an abrupt period, reorganised the administration and ruled that the entire revenues were to be devoted to the relief of the poor—a regulation which was duly enforced by the customary Papal Bull.

Cardinal Beaufort also watched over the affairs of the house, especially in his later years, and founded in connection with it a second institution, called the New House for the Relief of Noble Poverty (*Nova Domus Eleemosynaria Nobilis Paupertatis*), for forty inmates, including two priests and three women. Its administration was to be kept distinct from that of the older foundation, but the master of St. Cross presided over both, so that they practically formed a single institution—very clearly the worldly-wise cardinal took precautions against divided control and dissension; and in the end the two gradually coalesced into one. In the early part of the XVIIIth century many abuses were committed: the administrators repudiated their duties and began to demolish the buildings. About 1850 the ancient institution was reorganised under trustees controlled by the Chantry Commissioners. The endowments were intact and had naturally increased enormously in value, so that St. Cross in these its latter days holds its place among the beneficent foundations of England.

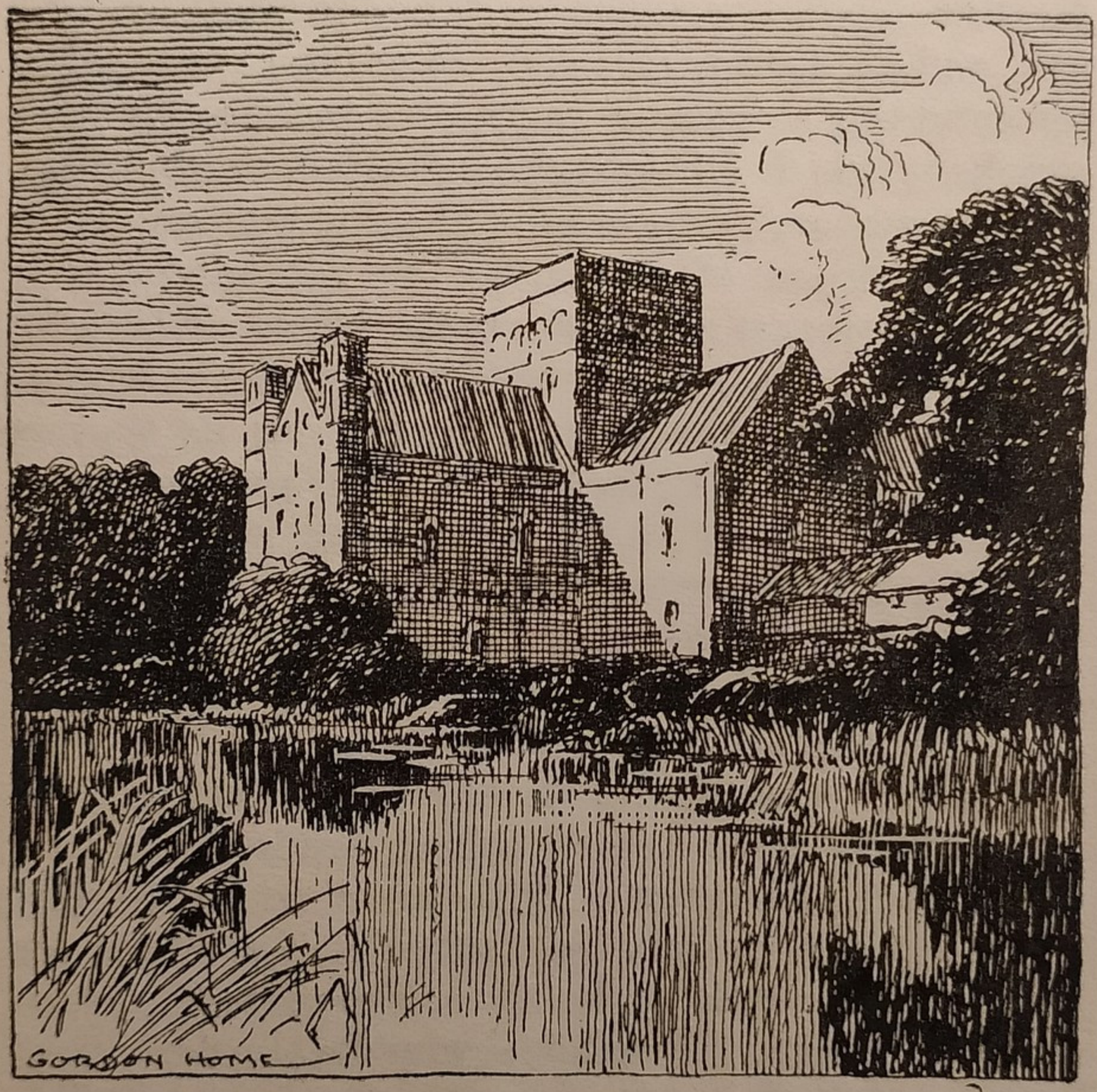
The buildings form three sides of a quadrangle, the entrance to which is on the north side by a gatehouse called the Beaufort Tower, built by that magnificent prelate-politician. A second or outer court survives only in a few fragments. The refectory and the original master's house, now converted to the use of the inmates, adjoin the gatehouse; on the west side are the quarters of the "brethren," and on the eastern one the cloister, with the church at the south-eastern corner. The buildings on the south side were destroyed by the vandals of the XVIIIth century.

The Beaufort Tower is a fine Perpendicular gate-house reminiscent of the "Bishop's Eye" at Wells. Above the gateway arch is a triplet of niches formerly occupied by statues of Henry de Blois and Cardinal Beaufort, with, in the central one, a cross emblematic of the dedication of the hospital. Only the kneeling presentment of the magnificent cardinal survives. On the inner side is a single niche, formerly occupied by a figure of the Virgin which escaped the iconoclasts of the Civil War, but fell about 1800.

The refectory is still used on great occasions. It has a fine high-pitched timber roof and a minstrels' gallery, and is lighted by three two-light Perpendicular windows. The cloister gallery on the east side was built, or at any rate rebuilt, in the XVIth century; above it is the infirmary, which opens into the church according to the mediæval custom, so that the sick should always have the benefit of the offices of the Church.

THE CHURCH. These brief notices must suffice for the hospital as a whole; that which places it so high among the artistic monuments of England is the splendid church founded by Henry de Blois at the close of his strenuous life and completed in its present form about a century later. In plan it remains an almost perfect Norman church of the more important type, being cruciform in outline, with nave and aisles, aisleless transepts, a very short apsidal choir, and a low square tower. Architecturally it shows very Late Norman architecture in the choir, Transitional and Early English in the nave, while the great west window is Decorated, and was perhaps inserted by Adam of Orleton, who was a notable builder.

Exterior. Externally the church of St. Cross, despite its later additions and insertions, has all the aspect of a building of the Norman era—strong, plain, a little gaunt, it may be, but curiously stately and satisfying



The Church of St. Cross from the North-east, showing its perfect Romanesque Characteristics

in its contour. That is not to say that it is altogether pleasing. The nave appears too short, and the extreme brevity of the choir gives a truncated appearance to the edifice when viewed from the south. Seen from

the north-west this defect is not apparent, and the simple vigorous masses of the nave and transepts, with the powerful-looking tower rising from the junction, form an admirable and harmonious composition, the fine Gothic openings in the clerestory and the west end not by any means injuring the harmony, but rather adding a necessary touch of richness to the stern simplicity which otherwise characterises the building.

The apses are perhaps more pleasing than any other external portion of the edifice on account of their splendid proportions and their stern, impressive severity of outline. The nave is hardly inferior in contour, but I am by no means certain that its appearance was improved by its Early English and Decorated openings. The tower is full of strength, and I believe that the builders were well-inspired to restrict its height; another stage would have spoiled the balance and overweighted the base furnished by the short nave and the transepts.

The west front is simple but quite effective. It is in principle a plain central gabled façade, flanked by very powerful buttresses, with wings on either side, also supported by massive buttresses. The wings are formed by the ends of the nave aisles; each is pierced by a single small Transitional window. In the central member there is a very fine and pure Early English doorway now walled up, and above it what is usually called a Decorated window, which seems to me to be rather Early English in contour, with tracery unquestionably Decorated, yet retaining something of the formality of the preceding school.

Interior. The nave consists of three bays only, but

none the less conveys the impression of majesty as well as beauty. The arcades are Transitional Norman, the slightly pointed arches springing from four pilasters and four powerful cylindrical piers, with capitals of Late Norman style in the case of two of them, while those of the second pair clearly foreshadow the near approach of Early English. There is no triforium properly so called, but the second stage is similar, while the clerestory has excellent Early English windows inserted in the Transitional walls. The vaulting of nave and aisles is also Early English; the contour is good; in the aisles the style and feeling are very much those of the south aisle of Gloucester Cathedral.

The transepts are of strong Transitional type; the crossing, on the other hand, is almost, if not quite, Early English, with slightly-pointed arches springing from piers surrounded by closely-grouped shafts. The four archways are wonderfully satisfying owing to their happy combination of strength and grace of outline, while their comparative loftiness lends them majesty. The impressiveness of the crossing is completed by the interior of the tower, which has not been shut off from the body of the church by vaulting of a later date. Internally it has the appearance of a lantern with on each side an arcading of four blank openings, and owing to the loftiness of the church this feature can be viewed from almost every quarter.

The choir is perhaps the most beautiful, certainly the most fascinating, member of a beautiful building. The east end seems to me an enchanting composition. It has three stages. In the lowermost are two deeply recessed Norman windows of perfect outline. On this

first stage stands a triforium of intersecting Norman arches forming four pointed openings, within each of which is a graceful round-headed lancet. Above is a tall clerestory with two recessed Norman windows closely resembling those of the basement stage, and the whole is crowned with a vault which is so far Early English that it is pointed, but which has more of Transitional feeling. The whole appearance of this east end is most delightful; it is perfect in proportion, and full of grace and charm, the very swan-song of the art which had ruled the Christian world for seven centuries and more.

The ancient church was restored and re-decorated by Butterfield in 1860. On the whole the work was well done, but the polychrome decoration which the architect introduced is hardly pleasing. The pavement consists partly of the mediæval encaustic tiles with the pregnant motto, "Have Mynde," and partly of not particularly satisfactory modern copies with the letters Z.O. in honour of the anonymous benefactor who defrayed the cost of the restoration. I have not read anything which furnishes a clue to the identity of this mysterious personage, but in any case one may well utter for him the ancient Roman prayer, "May the earth rest lightly upon him," for he spent his money worthily for a worthy object.

Winchester City Cross

In connection with St. Cross should properly be mentioned the City Cross, which stands in the High Street, just where it widens out at the top of Great Minster Street. It was erected about 1445 by the

Fraternity of the Holy Cross, very probably under the inspiration and encouragement of Cardinal Beaufort. It is a tall, square Perpendicular erection of three stages, the second of which has on each side a niche holding a statue. Only one of the four, however, dates from the period of the original building. It is that of St. Lawrence: the other three represent Alfred the Great, William of Wykeham and Florence de Anne, a mayor of Winchester.

This beautiful relic of mediæval Winchester is often, like its exquisite neighbour at Salisbury, called the Butter Cross, since it naturally formed a useful gathering-place for the farmers of the countryside when they brought to the town their produce—whereof butter was a staple item. It had lost all its figures except St. Lawrence before 1807, and its dilapidation was not by any means due entirely to Puritan iconoclasts, but largely to the wanton damage inflicted by those whom Britton caustically catalogues as "boys and childish men."

Hyde Abbey

Of the famous Abbey of Hyde, which once spread over a large area to the north of the city, only the merest fragments survive. This monastery was founded by Henry I. in order to house the monks of the "New Minster" founded by Alfred the Great alongside the "Old Minster" of St. Swithun. When the Norman cathedral was built the New Minster became rather an eyesore to the bishops, as it lay in the very shadow of the greater edifice. Therefore, after much discussion,

the monks of the New Minster were forced to abandon it in 1110 by William de Giffard. Naturally enough the bishop and his chapter disliked having this independent community at their very threshold. In the New Minster was buried Alfred the Great, in a beautiful sarcophagus of porphyry; and this most revered and precious of all their possessions the migrating monks took with them, and placed it before the high altar of their new church.

The Abbey of Hyde endured and flourished for over four centuries, although it was constantly involved in quarrels with the bishops, notably the imperious Henry de Blois. In the troubles of Stephen's reign the buildings suffered much, and their restoration was not completed for sixty years. In the fighting round Winchester the church was fired, and in the conflagration the great cross presented by King Cnut perished. There were differences also with later bishops, notably William of Wykeham and Cardinal Beaufort, but both prelates were good friends to the monastery, and it benefited by their testamentary bequests.

The first abbot of the New Minster was Alfred's chaplain, Grimbald, and among those who ruled the house in later years were Ranulf Flambard, Herbert de "Losinga" (Lotharingia), and the aged father of the latter. It was Abbot Geoffrey (1106–1124) who arranged an agreement with the cathedral and the removal to Hyde. The last abbot of the second house was John Salcot or Capon, one of those shameless timeservers who disgraced the period of the Reformation. He surrendered the abbey without demur and was rewarded by being made Bishop of Salisbury.

The abbey was at once almost completely demolished by Wriothesley, the greedy and unscrupulous minister of Henry VIII., to whom the site, together with much of its landed property, was granted. So sudden and thorough was this demolition that next year it had almost completely vanished. Camden could only say that there remained a gatehouse, a large barn, and some ruined outhouses. It is not certainly known what became of the mortal remains of England's greatest king. It is thought by some that they were removed to the cathedral and placed in one of the well-known mortuary caskets. But it is equally likely that they were deliberately scattered. Wriothesley and his associate Pollard wrote that they intended "to sweep away all the rotten bones that be called relics," and probably they cared little whether the relics were those of our greatest king or of an insignificant abbot. In that particular epoch Englishmen, at any rate of a certain class, seem to have been more than commonly brutal and immoral, and of a bad class Wriothesley was certainly one of the worst. Even his master, King Henry, who was not squeamish, said that he was a knave, a beast, and a fool! Nothing very much worse can be said of any man, and since the king himself had much of the knave and very much of the beast in his composition, he was probably not unjust to his creature and tool.

If the bones of Alfred the Great were not desecrated in 1538–9 they certainly were in 1788, when the magistrates of Hampshire chose the site as that of the county gaol! Many coffins and other relics of the past were then broken up and cast away. On the whole,

the infamy may fairly be divided between the disreputable Wriothesley and the presumably respectable Hampshire magnates of the XVIIIth century. As Sir Charles Oman rightly declares: "It matters little whether XVIth- or XVIIIth-century vandals violated the tomb of England's noblest king. His living memory is his best monument."

The once great and wealthy foundation is now represented by countless stones and fragments scattered throughout the buildings of Winchester, especially in the neighbouring streets. The foundations may perhaps still be capable of being traced, but hardly anything remains above ground, except a gateway arch, with hood mouldings and two corbels, in a wall which apparently formed part of an outbuilding.

CHAPTER IV

SALISBURY

Diocesan History and Building of the Cathedral

Opinions may differ regarding the precise interest and artistic merit of the cathedral of Salisbury, but there can be little differences of sentiment concerning the interest which attaches to the city itself, for it is the one example in England of a cathedral city deliberately planned and laid out around the episcopal church. The church itself may invite adverse criticism; the same may be true of the town. There are more beautiful cathedrals in England and more quaintly picturesque towns, but nowhere is there to be found together a more perfect harmony than Salisbury Cathedral and Salisbury city.

The beginnings of the Diocese of Salisbury go back at least to early English times, but the seat of the bishop was not where it is situated to-day. It has changed again and again. There may have been a Romano-British bishop at Sorbiodunum (Old Sarum), but this is doubtful, for Sorbiodunum was a fortress of the Belgæ of Britain, and the seat of the bishopric would almost certainly have been at Venta Belgarum (Winchester). It is not altogether probable that the bishop of the British Belgians presided over a large

community, for all the evidence goes to show that Christianity had no very strong hold upon the Romano-Britons.

It may be said that the memory of pagan times broods over Salisbury to this day, for the salient landmark in Wiltshire is no cathedral, but the mysterious stone circle of Stonehenge, the sanctuary of a vanished religion.

Whatever the extent and organisation of the early British Church may have been, its administrative machinery was wrecked during the Vth and VIth centuries. If it be conceded that, when he issued his orders to Augustine for the ecclesiastic reorganisation of Britain in 597, Pope Gregory the Great had any official records at his disposal, it may be supposed that there were twenty-four bishoprics in the Roman province, twelve in the south, the rest in the north and west. But there is really no evidence to show that the great Pope utilised Roman administrative documents, or that there were ever as many as twenty-four bishops in Roman Britain.

At the same time it is not at all unlikely that the early Vth century saw a multiplication of bishops in Britain, and it is quite easy to account for twelve sees in the southern portion of the province. The certainties are London and Lindum; the probabilities: Durovernum (Cantii), Regnum (Regni), Venta Belgarum (Belgæ), Durnovaria (Durotriges), Isca Damnoniorum (Damnonii), Corinium (Dobuni), Calleva (Atrebates), Verulam (Catuvellauni), Colonia Claudia (Trinobantes) and Venta Icenorum (Iceni). Lindum would have been the seat of the Bishop of the Coritani. It will be seen

STONEHENGE

The most ancient surviving religious sanctuary of the Diocese of Salisbury.

STONEHENGE

The most ancient surviving religious sanctuary of the Diocese of Salisbury.

that the suggestion is a reasonable one, since it provides a bishop for each of the tribal provinces or cantons and one for the capital. I think it possible that this really was the ecclesiastical organisation of southern Britain when the English incursions began to wreck it, though it does not at all follow that twelve Christian bishops' sees implied a large and dominant Christian community.

In any case there seems no room for a bishop of Sarum, nor was there one, so far as is known, for several centuries. When the commotion of the English conquest had subsided and Archbishop Theodore of Tarsus had given to the country a symmetrical diocesan system, there were twelve bishops' sees in the south and south-west, and it is impossible to ignore the fact that though the seats were as often as not at some obscure royal "villa," the dioceses themselves correspond in the oddest manner with ancient Romano-British tribal boundaries. The See of Selsey (Sussex) was simply the territory of the Regni. The Diocese of London corresponded with the country of the Trinobantes. Leicester and Dorchester-on-Thames made up the land of the Catuvellauni. The Diocese of Winchester was neither more nor less than the territory of the British Belgæ, and that of Sherborne comprised the country of the Durotriges with so much of Damnonia as was then in the hands of the English.

Of Sarum itself hardly anything is known during these twilight ages, and that little is extremely uncertain. That it was a Celtic stronghold is indubitable, and it was probably inhabited during the Romano-

British period. But it is just as likely that it was a deserted site—a waste chester, as the English would have said. Under the *pax Romana* there was no necessity for the provincials to crowd themselves behind hill-top earthworks, and probably the government absolutely objected to such a practice.

It seems clear that very few traces of Roman occupation have been found within the earth-ring. With the English invasions the place probably assumed importance as a stronghold. There is an entry in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,* dated 552, recording a fight there in which the Britons were defeated by Cynric, "the West Saxon." The date was more probably about 566, but the fight is credible, especially as some years later there is mention of another battle at Beranbyrig, probably Badbury Rings, which indicates that the English and Britons were struggling hard for the possession of the valley of the Avon. Whether Winchester was yet in the hands of the invaders is unknown, but both Winchester and Sarum must have been English soon after 582, for in that year Ceawlin, the son of Cynric, defeated the last Romano-British ruler of southern Britain so utterly at Deorham that the remains of Roman political influence vanished for ever.

Then came the conversion to Christianity of the intruders, but still there is no mention of Sarum. The kingdom of the Gewissæ (Confederates), established by Cynric and Ceawlin, later called Wessex, at first comprised two bishoprics, one for the northern part of the inchoate realm with its seat at Dorchester-on-Thames, while the bishop of the southern province was established at Winchester. The conquests of the

great King Ine (688–726) enabled a third bishopric to be established, that of Sherborne extending over Dorsetshire, Somersetshire and eastern Devonshire. Sarum, probably a "waste chester," as lonely as when it scared Pepys, may have belonged to Sherborne, and *may* have fallen within the boundary of Winchester: certainty is impossible.

The first bishop of Sherborne was St. Ealdhelm ("Aldhelm") (705–709), Abbot of Glastonbury, the first of English authors and the reputed founder of the Church of St. Laurence at Bradford-on-Avon. Bede speaks of him with great respect, and much of his literary work survives. He wrote both in prose and verse after the fashion of authors of the day, and if his Latinity be not above criticism, it is infinitely better than the barbarous jargon which at the time held the field in Gaul. His successor was Forthere, whom Bede also names with respect as a man of erudition. Indeed these early English prelates for the most part stood on a very high plane for that age, from the view-point of religion and education alike.

A different man in every respect was Eahlstan, who held the See of Sherborne from 817 to about 857. He was a bishop of the secular type, an administrator and, at need, a warrior—he helped the ealdormen of Somerset and Dorset to defeat the Vikings in 846—but also a turbulent rebel and intriguer. His successor, Heahmund, was also of the warrior-bishop type, and died fighting bravely in the battle of Marden in 871, in which King Aethelred I. and his brother Alfred were defeated by Halfdene the Dane.

The last bishop of the undivided See of Sherborne

was Asser the Welshman, the friend and biographer of Alfred. On his death, King Edward the Elder re-organised the bishoprics of the south-west. The two overgrown sees of Winchester and Sherborne were split into five—Somerset (Wells), Dorset (Sherborne), Wiltshire (Ramsbury), Hampshire (Winchester), and Devonshire (Crediton). The first bishop of Wiltshire was Werstan, and with him the history of the See of Salisbury may be said to begin. The fact that the capital of the see was not fixed at Sarum may indicate that the ancient stronghold on the Wiltshire plain was not regarded as by any means a fitting place. It may have been deserted; it is at any rate clear that the English bishops of the pre-Norman epoch disliked establishing themselves in fortified towns.

It was not long, however, before the disadvantages of open villages as episcopal towns became painfully evident. During the vigorous rule of the kings of Alfred's line down to Aethelred the Redeless,[1] the bishops of Wiltshire lived in peace, but the delusive tranquillity ended in the times of the contemptible son of "Basilius" Eadgar the Peaceful. During the earlier part of his reign the Bishop of Wiltshire was Aelfric, who seems to have possessed a great reputation for sanctity and ability, for, in 994, he was elected Archbishop of Canterbury. He did not live to see the worst, but the eleven years of his primacy were full of wars and invasions. In 1003 he heard that Wilton, then the chief town of Wiltshire, had been sacked by Sweyn "Forkbeard" of Denmark, and two years later he died.

[1] Inaccurately called "The Unready" by early historians.

The seat of the Diocese of Wiltshire, however, continued at the village of Ramsbury, though the action of Leofric of Crediton, in transferring his abode to Exeter, shows that men were alive to the danger of the ecclesiastic centres of large provinces being established at open towns. Herman, the last bishop of Wiltshire of the old stock, continued contentedly to administer his diocese from the defenceless town near Marlborough, and it was not until 1075 that, in obedience to the directions of William I., he took up his abode within the towering earth-ramparts of Sarum.

The removal to Sarum was simply a case of "Hobson's choice." There was nowhere else to go, and a worse place for a cathedral city than this wind-swept, inaccessible and cramped earth-fort on the downland can hardly be imagined. The space within the ramparts was extremely limited, and the height of the wall-ring must have rendered the interior intolerably gloomy for those who lived within it. Moreover, the crowding together inside the prehistoric refuge of church and dwellings cannot but have rendered the place terribly unhealthy. It is also said that there was lack of water, but modern research has proved the existence of wells, so that this shortcoming may have been exaggerated. The worst defect of the site was its hopelessly confined area. However, the will of the Conqueror was law, and Sarum was the only approach to a fortified site in Wiltshire. So to Sarum Bishop Herman and his canons betook themselves, and in the interior of the stronghold founded a cathedral with its subsidiary buildings.

A Distant View of Salisbury from the East

The perfect spire dominates the valley of the Wiltshire Avon.

A Distant View of Salisbury from the East

The perfect spire dominates the valley of the Wiltshire Avon.

Herman was by birth a Fleming, one of Edward the Confessor's chaplains. He seems to have been an active and energetic man, somewhat of the pushful type: his principal object in life was apparently the extension of his bishopric, and when Aelfwald of Sherborne died, Herman induced the king to unite both Wiltshire and Dorsetshire under himself. After this he seems as a rule to have administered the double diocese from Sherborne, until the royal command induced the migration to Sarum. He at once set to work to lay out a cathedral and cloister within the fortress, but he must by this time have been a very old man, and about two years later he died.

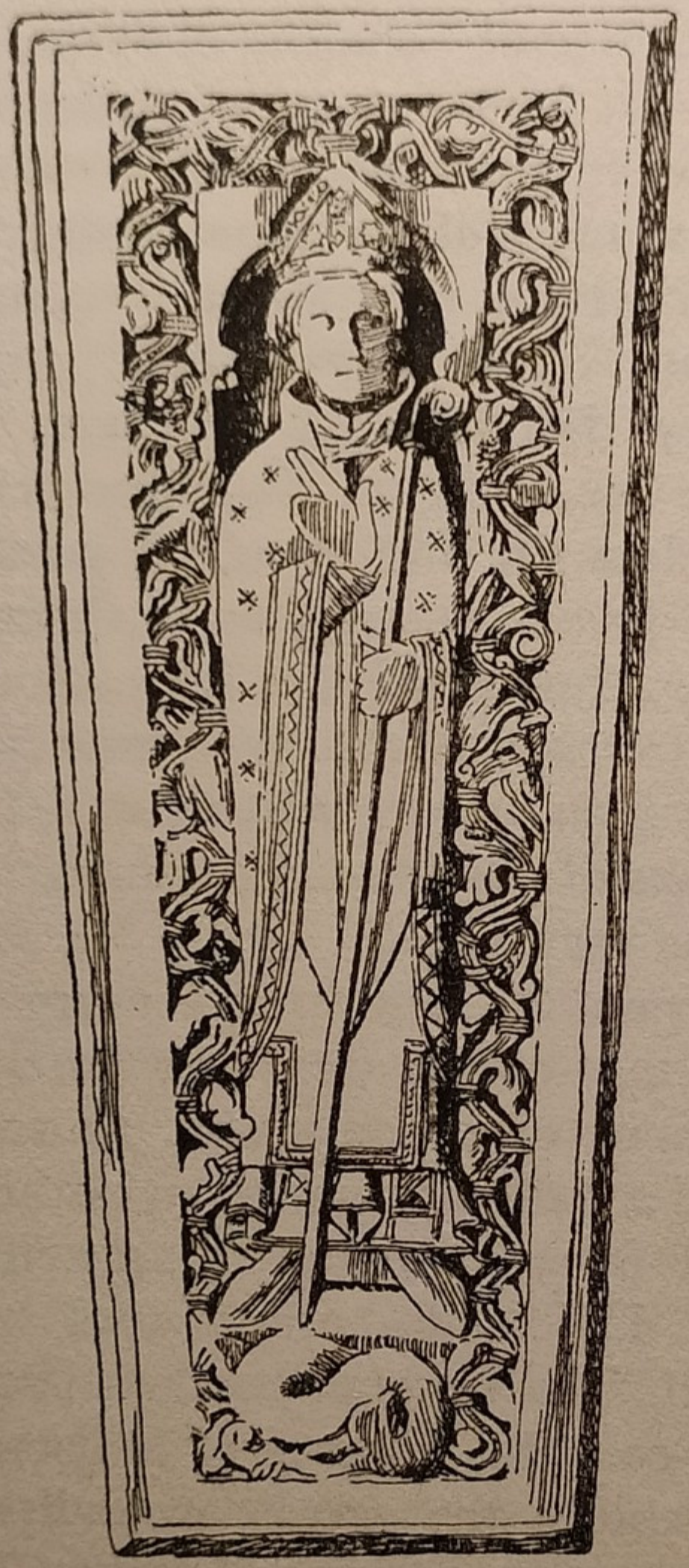
His successor was Osmund (or Osmer) de Séez, afterwards known as St. Osmund. According to the Sarum Charters he was a nephew of William I., his mother being the Conqueror's sister, Isabelle. He was apparently destined for an ecclesiastical life at an early age, and in 1066 was one of his uncle's chaplains. Like most of the clergy of that age he was constantly employed as a civil servant, but his true inclinations appear to have been towards religion. He apparently acted as chancellor for about six years (1072–78), and was one of the commissioners who compiled the Domesday Survey.

As Bishop of Sarum, Osmund's principal task was, firstly, the building of the cathedral. It was consecrated in 1092, but only four days later the edifice was struck by lightning and the roof burnt. The second work performed by Osmund was the organisation and endowment of a chapter consisting of the dean, precentor, chancellor, treasurer, and thirty-two canons.

More important than either was his action in drawing up a book of service for his diocese—the Use of Sarum—which was so excellent that it was eventually adopted by all England and thence introduced into Ireland and Scotland. Seven years more of life, mostly afflicted with troubles public and private, remained to Osmund de Séez, until his death on 3rd December, 1099. William of Malmesbury describes his character in terms of warm eulogy: according to that chronicler he was a man of blameless life and unsullied purity, free from ambition. He loved learning, and collected what was, for the time, a noble library: his personal hobbies, indeed, seem to have been calligraphy and bookbinding. He was also an author, and wrote a life of St. Ealdhelm, which has disappeared. His veneration for the English saint was very great.

Bishop Osmund's reputation within a century of his death was so great that efforts were put forth to obtain for him the honour of canonisation. In 1228 Pope Gregory IX. issued a bull of enquiry, but nothing further was done, and it was not until 1457 that Calixtus III. (Borgia I.) finally pronounced the canonisation of Osmund. The negotiations had lasted for four years and had cost the Chapter of Salisbury £700; but in all probability the secret expenditure was far greater—I cannot quite imagine Calixtus III. doing anything unless well paid, though it is possible that he had political reasons for his action.

Osmund's successor was a very different and, on the whole, more remarkable man—Roger, the minister of Henry I. Roger was one of those, like William de Warelwast who were priests by accident and administrators



Tomb Slab-effigy of Bishop Roger le Poore, the Justiciar of Henry I., Bishop of Sarum

He was a great statesman and administrator—not by any means a religious type.

in grain. In William of Exeter the priest eventually ousted the civilian, but to the day of his death Roger of Salisbury remained first and foremost a politician, so entirely regardless of his religious character that he lived openly with a concubine named Maud of Ramsbury.

Roger is said by William of Newburgh to have pleased Henry I. by the speed with which he got through the morning Mass, while Henry and his friends were yearning for the hunt, but Henry was not prone to promoting clerks except for solid reasons, and there is no doubt that Roger was a man of remarkable ability. Henry made him steward of his household. Immediately after his accession as

king he created him chancellor, and in 1102 appointed him Bishop of Salisbury.

Immersed though Roger was in state business throughout his life, William of Malmesbury testified that he did not neglect his ecclesiastical duties. Indeed, though his nature was utterly unspiritual, so great an administrator is hardly likely to have been a bad ecclesiastical ruler. He accumulated a vast fortune and advanced his relatives to high place; but it is quite true that these relatives and their descendants were for the most part worthy men and trained administrators. His life ended in trouble amid the beginning of the disorders of Stephen's reign: his power was so great that the new king, though he owed his position mainly to Roger, was almost forced into attacking him.

Roger was by no means unmindful of his diocese, though naturally his thoughts were directed to its material interests rather than its spiritual needs. He worked indefatigably to obtain for it additional endowments and prebends. The cathedral he repaired and decorated, so that according to William of Malmesbury there was none finer in England.

When the great statesman-bishop passed away, Stephen promptly appointed as his successor the Frenchman Philippe de Harcourt, but the Chapter of Salisbury, probably following Roger's dying wishes, elected Jocelyn de Bohun, whose family were stout adherents of the Empress Maud. In 1142, during her brief spell of unquestioned supremacy, Maud confirmed the election, and Stephen was never strong enough to eject Bishop Jocelyn, though he harried him to the best of his ability. The bishop's position

was not assured until the accession of Henry II. in 1154; after this he presided over the diocese for thirty years, winning a great reputation as a careful and liberal pastor.

Jocelyn played a considerable part in the troubled politics of the reign of Henry II. He was one of the broadminded bishops who drew up the Constitution of Clarendon, and was naturally excommunicated therefor by Thomas à Becket, along with John of Oxford, his dean. Unquestionably, he was a strong opponent of Becket's policy and ideas, so much so that when the archbishop was murdered, he thought it necessary to make a sworn deposition at the Court of Rome to the effect that he had no participation in the deed. It is probable that it was Bishop Jocelyn who enlarged the Cathedral of Sarum, extending it to the eastward, much as others were being extended at this time. In 1184 the aged prelate, feeling himself near his end, retired to a Cistercian monastery, where he died on 18th November.

For four years the see remained vacant, and not until 1188 was Hubert Walter, the famous statesman, nominated bishop—almost certainly in return for a heavy subscription towards the expenses of the Third Crusade. Hubert's connection with Salisbury was slight, for he departed at once for Palestine, where he won golden opinions by his energy and widespread charity among the poorer crusaders, and on his return in 1193 he was immediately appointed Archbishop of Canterbury. Great man as he was, and important as was the part which he played in English history during the next twelve years, he concerns Salisbury no more.

His successor was Herbert le Poore, son of Richard of Ilchester, Bishop of Winchester, and probably great-grandson of Roger. The name has no connection with poverty: it is most probably the Latin *puer* (boy), which in Norman-French became "poer," and so far from implicating poverty, indicated that its bearer was the cadet of a knightly family. According to modern notions, both he and his brother were illegitimate, being the sons of a bishop's concubine. Herbert le Poore, like many contemporary ecclesiastics, was a civil servant rather than a priest: indeed, when elected Bishop of Salisbury, he held only deacon's orders.

Herbert le Poore's episcopate lasted for twenty-three troubled years. He had to suffer from the cyclonic rage of Richard I., the reason being the honourable one that the bishop, together with St. Hugh of Lincoln, set himself against the crushing taxation which the king was levying upon the land. Naturally he endured all kinds of oppression and vexation at the hands of John, and on one occasion fled to Scotland in the hope of escape. He lived just long enough to see the first faint gleam of better times. To us he is chiefly noteworthy as having conceived the plan of shifting the seat of the bishopric to a new site. He obtained sanction from Richard I. and Hubert Walter, but the disorder of the times prevented him from ever carrying out his design.

It had, indeed, long been apparent that Old Sarum was the worst and most inconvenient of episcopal seats. It was overcrowded, gloomy and unhealthy: also it was a garrisoned fortress, and the frequent mis-

conduct of the soldiers, who were usually foreign mercenaries, rendered the life of the canons more and more unbearable. Matters must have been more than usually intolerable in the reign of John, especially during his conflict with Pope Innocent III. When the latter placed England under interdict in 1208, many bishops fled the country. Herbert le Poore seems not to have been among them.

On Herbert's death in 1217, his brother Richard, Bishop of Chichester, who had for seventeen years held the post of Dean of Salisbury, was elected bishop in his brother's room. This translation was mainly due to patriotic reasons, for he had played an important part in the war against the French Dauphin Louis and his rebel supporters. But Richard le Poore was otherwise thoroughly well qualified for his post, being a man of high personal character, great ability, and considerable learning.

As soon as he had leisure, Bishop Richard set matters in train for the long contemplated transference from Old Sarum to some more convenient site. After consultation with his chapter, a special mission was sent to Pope Honorius III., and a bull of assent obtained. The bull bears date 29th March, 1219, and the envoys must have made good speed, for long before the end of the year a temporary church had been erected, to which the bishop and chapter formally migrated on 1st November. The canons were sent forth to collect funds, and preparations for the building of a new cathedral were pressed forward with the utmost energy.

The new site selected by Bishop Richard was a part of his own episcopal estate called Myrfield or

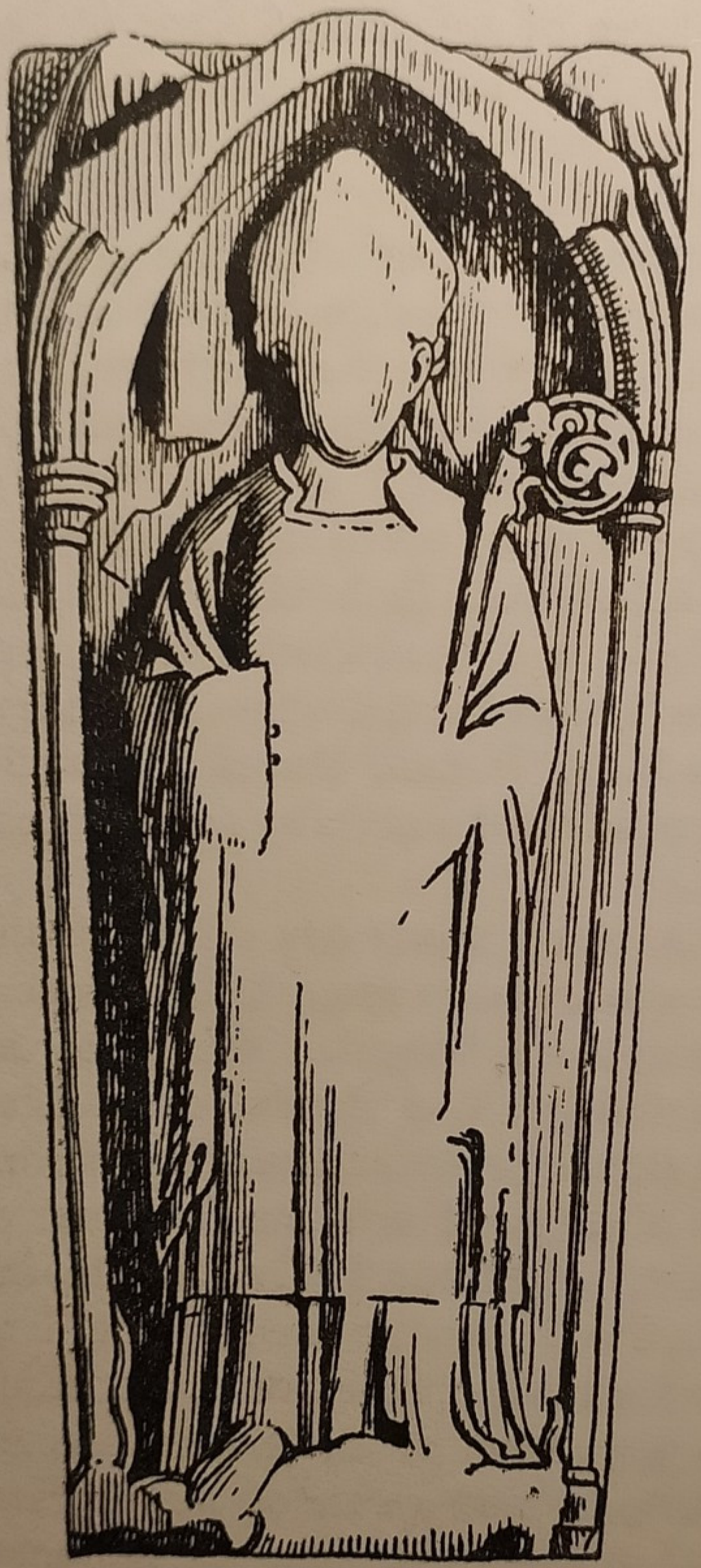
Aerofilms Ltd., Hendon

AN OVERHEAD VIEW OF SALISBURY CATHEDRAL

From the south-west, showing in a remarkable manner the whole pile of buildings planned by Richard le Poore.

Miryfield. Like the name of the bishop, that of the site of the new cathedral lends itself to misconception, especially since its most noteworthy feature at the time must have been its marshy character. However, "mire" has nothing to do with the first portion of the appellation, and the suggestions that it means Mary (*i.e.* the Virgin) or Merry are equally baseless. In all probability Myr or Miry is a mediæval corruption of the Anglo-Saxon "Maer," a boundary. To this day a boundary-stone is called in Wiltshire a mere-stone, and the field where Richard le Poore laid the foundations of the new Cathedral of Sarum is at the junction of three ancient hundreds—Alderbury, Cawdon, and Underditch. It can, therefore, hardly be doubted that its name means nothing more or less than Boundary Field.

On 28th April, 1220, the festival day of St. Vitalis the Martyr, a vast concourse was assembled in Maerfield around the temporary chapel. Owing to the troubled political conditions, and the fact that there was war on the Welsh Border, comparatively few barons were present, but at their head was the foremost of English peers—William Longespée, Earl of Sarum, the half-brother of Richard and John, with his wife, Ela. After divine service, the bishop, barefooted, according to the rule, led the procession of clergy and laymen to the chosen site and preached a sermon appropriate to the occasion. He then laid three foundation-stones, one in the name of the Pope Honorius; the second in that of the Lord Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church; the third for himself. Then William Longespée and



A Miniature Effigy which probably once covered the Heart of Bishop Richard le Poore

It is often miscalled the tomb-slab of a "Boy Bishop."

Countess Ela each laid a stone and were followed by other barons present; after whom every member of the chapter did the same amid the joyous acclamations of the assembled multitude. Afterwards subscriptions of money were made by many barons returning from the Welsh war. The whole amount realised must have been very large, for in five years the building was so far advanced that it was ready for the celebration of divine service —which unquestionably means that the choir was practically completed. The work must have been pushed forward with extreme energy, and that this was so, was due chiefly to the enthusiasm of the

bishop, who spent his private fortune lavishly, and personally watched over the building.

Late in September, Stephen Langton, the renowned Archbishop of Canterbury, and William, Archbishop of Dublin, came to Salisbury, and on the 28th the three princes of the Church consecrated three altars. Next day the solemn consecration of the cathedral was celebrated in the presence of a vast assemblage, including Otto or Otho, the nuncio of the Pope, to whom Langton preached. One would have wished to know the text which the great archbishop chose for the occasion, but no record seems to have been preserved. King Henry III. and the Justiciar, Hubert de Burgh, were not able to be present, but came on 2nd October, and made valuable offerings—that of de Burgh was an illuminated text ornamented with precious stones. They visited Salisbury again on 2nd December, on which occasion Henry gave a ruby, a gold cup and a piece of silk. This sort of spasmodic liberality was characteristic of the fourth Plantagenet king—weak, untrustworthy, yet religious in a feeble fashion, and capable at times of royal munificence.

In March, 1226, Bishop Richard had the melancholy duty of administering the Last Sacraments to William Longespée, who died, as one would have expected the son of Henry II. and the brother of Richard of the Lion's Heart to die, in a passion of penitence and religious fervour. He was the first notable personage to be buried in the new cathedral. Three months later the bishop translated thither from the deserted church at Old Sarum the bones of Osmund, Roger and Jocelyn. With that pious deed, Richard le Poore's

work at Salisbury may be said to have been crowned, though for two years longer he remained indefatigably busy, not only upon the cathedral, but also the accessory buildings, including the episcopal palace. He was transferred to Durham in 1228, and there he ruled for nine years longer. Almost the last public appearance of this fine figure in English history was as a witness to Henry III.'s confirmation of Magna Carta in 1236, a very fitting termination of a worthy career. He was buried neither at Salisbury nor at Durham, but in the little Cistercian nunnery of Tarrant, which he had endowed, and where he died. His heart is said to be in the nave of Salisbury, but the truth would seem to be that Salisbury, like Exeter, possesses no authentic relic of its founder. Perchance that is well—the splendid cathedral is the immortal monument of Richard le Poore.

The beginnings of the city of Salisbury must also be attributed to Bishop Richard, who obtained in 1227 a charter from Henry III. empowering him to lay out and enclose the city of New "Saresbury," and also granting an annual fair. In all his operations the energetic prelate was loyally and ably supported by his chapter, of whom the dean, William de Wanda, deserves special mention. With the most active and devoted of lieutenants were associated a whole group of notable men—Roger of Sarum, the precentor, presently to be Bishop of Bath and Wells; Henry de Bishopston, the chancellor and director of the school, and, greatest of all, the treasurer Edmund Rich, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and a saint of the Church—a saint in deed as well as in name.

The Archdeacon of Wiltshire was a man only second to St. Edmund—Robert Grosseteste, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln—and included in the chapter was Robert Bingham, who succeeded Le Poore in the episcopate and continued the building of the cathedral. The master-builder seems to have been Canon Elias de Derham, but this is not quite certain, though Leland's statement that he "*rexit eccle-siam*" appears to indicate so much.

Bishop Robert Bingham carried on the work of the founder with zeal for eighteen years, assisted during the greater part of the time by Elias de Derham. His successor was William of York, one of the chaplains of Henry III., a man of the ecclesiastic administrator type, and more or less concerned in the king's governmental misdeeds. Still, though "better versed in the laws of the realm than those of God," he carried forward the work of Le Poore and Bingham, and for so much may receive credit, since little more is due to him.

Arms of the See of Salisbury

Under the next bishop, Giles de Bridport (1217–1262), the cathedral was so far completed that it could be dedicated as a whole for religious purposes, and in 1258 the great edifice was solemnly consecrated by that most unpriestly of archbishops, Boniface de Savoie, the brother-in-law of Henry III. Bishop Giles's

share in the work seems to have been the casing of the roof with lead. The cathedral thus dedicated included the entire body of the edifice as it exists to-day, but not the west front, the tower or the spire. The cloisters were probably planned by Bishop Giles, commenced by his successor, Walter de la Wyle (1263–1271), and continued by subsequent prelates. They were certainly not completed until about 1340 or even later, but the style is Early English, so that they were clearly built to a design made about 1260 or a little later.

The Chapter-House was commenced rather later than the cloister, as is shown by the fact that coins of Edward I. were found beneath its foundations, but so far as design goes, I can see nothing to date it later than about 1265: the style, though in certain features it verges upon Decorated, is essentially Early English.

It may, therefore, have been planned by Gilles de Bridport or Walter de la Wyle, but not commenced until the time of Robert de Wykehampton (1274–1284) or Walter Scammel (1284–1286).

From 1292 to 1297 the Bishop of Salisbury was Nicholas Longespée, the youngest son of William Longespée I. and Countess Ela; it was perhaps in his time that the Chapter-House and the west front were completed, though the latter was probably finished at an earlier period. By one or another of these successors of Richard le Poore must also have been built the detached campanile, which, until Wyatt set his destroying hand upon Salisbury, stood at a short distance to the south-west of the cathedral. It was a structure of curious appearance, consisting of a very plain Early English tower of two stages. On each face

were three buttresses, and between the buttresses on each stage were two Early English lancets. On this structure were two stages apparently of timber, the lower one square, the second octagonal, the whole being capped by a spirelet. In engravings it has a quaint resemblance to the Spasski Vorot (Salvation Gate) of the Kremlin at Moscow.

Bishop Simon de Gand (1297–1315) empowered the corporation of Salisbury to wall their city, and it was probably in the time of his second successor, Robert of Wyville (1330–1375), that the close was walled and the central tower commenced. Robert seems to have been specially nominated at the desire of Queen Philippa of Hainault, and was for some reason unpopular: he is said to have been both illiterate and ugly. He was certainly energetic, and defended his manorial rights against Edward III.'s powerful friend, William de Montacute, Earl of Salisbury. The point at issue was the possession of Sherborne Castle; Lord Salisbury announced that he would maintain his rights to it in single combat.

The account of the proceedings is a most amusing one. Since Bishop Robert could not himself fight the earl, he appointed a champion, but when the combat was announced, this gentleman was found to have provided himself with armour spiritual no less than temporal—his body beneath his mail was girded with rolls of parchment inscribed with prayers and texts. He insisted that this was legitimate, but Earl William strongly objected. So the fight was deferred, and meanwhile the earl and the bishop had time to consider matters. Presumably both realised that they made a

rather foolish picture. The dispute passed from the tilt-yard to the offices of the parties' lawyers, and in the end a satisfactory compromise was arranged. The earl waived his rights and the bishop paid him a handsome compensation of 2500 marks. The "concord" is in the archives of the see.

It is supposed that it was Robert de Wyville who, towards the close of his episcopate, began to build the spire; but on this point there is great uncertainty, some writers contending for a date considerably earlier. To me the tower and spire have the feeling of Decorated rather than Early English art, but this need not imply a date for commencement later than 1280. Bishop Robert unquestionably enlarged the cloisters and completed the wall of the close. For the latter purpose he was granted permission to use the ruins of the dilapidated Norman cathedral in deserted Sarum. These Norman stones are plainly to be seen in the boundary wall, but there is no trace of re-used masonry in the spire, and it has therefore been inferred that it was completed before the time of Bishop Wyville. It is certain that in the Capitular Register, which began in 1329, there is no mention of the spire. It seems, however, very doubtful if it were completed by 1258.

I am inclined to think that the spire was built about 1300–1330—an opinion based solely upon the *feeling* of the architecture. On the actual style no argument can be based, for the cloister was not completed until the Decorated style was almost at its close, yet it is Early English. In other words, there was much exercise of conscious archaism at

Salisbury, the builders, like those of Exeter, being determined to follow in the footsteps of their predecessors.

On the other hand, if architectural experts be correct in stating that settlement began very soon after the erection of the spire, then, documentary evidence or none, it must have been added at a late date, for the arches constructed to strengthen the piers are pure Perpendicular. The subject is beset with difficulties, and there is little help to be derived from the style of the tower or from documents. But since Robert de Wyville is often credited with the erection of the spire, this appears to be the proper place in which to discuss the problem.

The secular history of the Middle Ages left the quiet ecclesiastical city in the valley of the Avon unmolested, and its annals are little more than those of its bishops. The most notable of them was unquestionably Robert Hallam (1407–1417) who, by the evidence of his name, was a Yorkshireman from the district of Sheffield. He headed the English delegation at the famous Church Council of Florence in 1415–1417, and earned a great and honourable reputation for independence, frankness, and honesty. He also displayed much moderation and desire of fair-play in the matters of John Huss and Jerome of Prague. In a sentence, he acted in the best spirit of an Englishman, showing the virtues which have always been characteristic of a gentleman of England. He died on 4th September at the Schloss of Gottlieben, and lies buried before the high altar of Constance Cathedral.

Hallam's third successor, William Ayscough (1438–1450), had an ending as tragic as that of Walter de Stapeldon of Exeter, and apparently quite as undeserved. He was the private confessor of Henry VI. and celebrated the unhappy marriage of the gentle king to Marguerite of Anjou in 1445. He was also one of the commission which condemned for practising sorcery Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester, the wife of the miscalled Good Duke Humphrey. His flock became intensely aggrieved at his continual residence at court and, quite naturally, counted him as one of the evil councillors who had lost France and impoverished England. When he really did visit his see in 1450, the popular fury exploded, and Bishop Ayscough was seized in Edington Church on 29th June, dragged to the top of a neighbouring hill and battered to death with savage fury.

This ill-fated prelate was succeeded by Richard de Beauchamp, a member of the famous family so prominent in the Plantagenet period. He was apparently not very much of an ecclesiastic, but a man of magnificent tastes. At Salisbury he built the great hall of the Bishop's Palace and a magnificent chantry chapel.

With Richard de Beauchamp the building history of Salisbury closes. The last bishop of the old order was the Italian Cardinal Lorenzo Campeggio, the Campeius of Shakespeare's *Henry VIII.* He was naturally deprived in 1535, but, equally naturally, regarded as Bishop of Salisbury at Rome until his death. His successor was the violent and unstable Nicholas Shaxton. Deprived in 1539, he was followed by John Capon or Salcote, a typical time-server, whose

death in 1557 saved him from the necessity of changing sides for the third or fourth time.

Of the later bishops, John Jewel (1560–1571) was the most famous: he has good claims to be regarded as one of the real founders of the Anglican Catholic Church: his *Apology for the Church of England* had a European reputation. Apart from such activities he was a good pastor of his flock, and a really good man. His learning was great, and his remarkable memory, together with his methodical habits, gave his writings a curious air of cold mechanical precision. Bishop Jewel manœuvred arguments like troops on the battlefield, and his work did much to stamp upon Anglican theology those characteristics of sound learning and reasonableness which have, as a rule, distinguished it. At Salisbury he built a library and maintained in his house a number of poor boys whom he trained for the universities. In his episcopal duties he was indefatigable, and literally killed himself by his devotion to duty. When a friend remonstrated with him on the rashness of making a visitation of his diocese in 1571, he only said: "A bishop had best die preaching." So, ill and emaciated, he set forth, preached his last sermon at Laycock, and dragged himself on to Monkton Farleigh, where he died on 23rd September.

Few of the successors of Jewel deserve more than a word of notice. Most of them owed their posts to political influence rather than to ecclesiastical merit, though many were estimable enough persons. Seth Ward (1667–1689) was transferred from Exeter, where he had distinguished himself at once as a somewhat

harsh and violent High Churchman, a generous benefactor, and a restorer of his cathedral. At Salisbury he displayed the same characteristics. His restorations were more remarkable for zeal than good taste, but both at Exeter and Salisbury he spent his own private means lavishly on the work. He was perhaps rather more of a student of mathematical science than a clergyman, and Burnet—not a very fair witness—questions his sincerity. He outlived his faculties, and, when he died in 1689, though only seventy-two years of age, was a victim of senile decay—a curious end for a highly intellectual man, but not unparalleled. As one of the founders of the Royal Society he has more than a slight claim upon the gratitude of posterity.

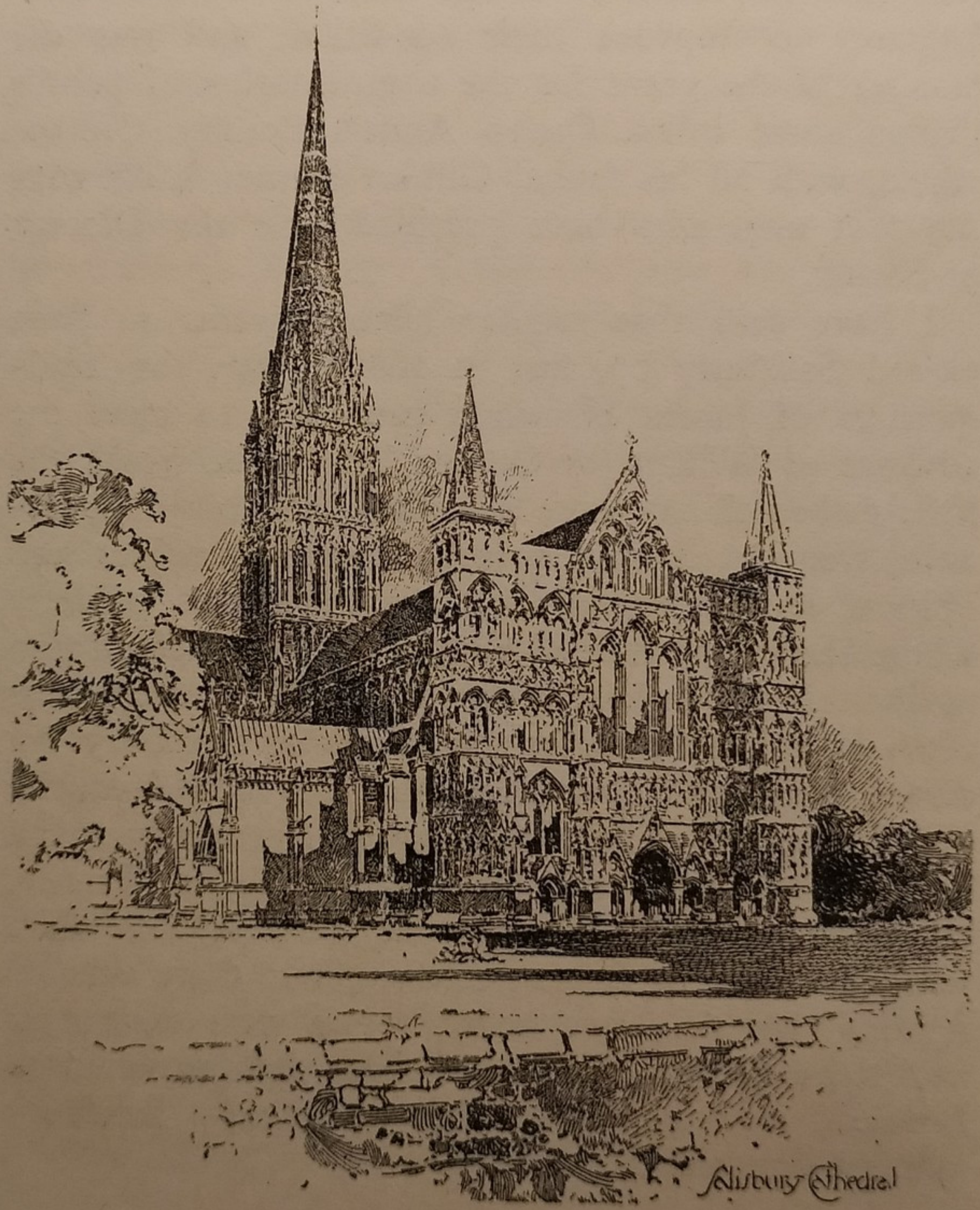
To Ward succeeded Gilbert Burnet (1689–1715), the famous—somewhat notorious—partisan of William III. and the author of the *History of His Own Times*. Considering the circumstances under which it was written, this sort of journal is a work of great value. It is naturally prejudiced and, at times, untrustworthy, but at least as reliable as the best product of modern journalism. Considered as what it is—journalism—it holds a very high place. As a man, Burnet had many virtues and some rather ridiculous vices. His courage was very high; he dared to write a most vigorous letter to Charles II. on the subject of his licentious life, and there is no doubt at all that he was a very earnest and sincere practising Christian. On the other hand, he was a perfect busybody, and his total lack of discretion was notorious.

As a bishop Burnet ranks high. He was indefatigable

in looking after his clergy and the people of his diocese. It is said that when he died he had visited every parish at least seven or eight times. As Scotsmen can be—though the virtue is not often credited to them—he was extraordinarily open-handed and charitable. The poverty of many of the parish priests exercised his mind so much that he worked indefatigably to improve their condition, and was the inspirer of the grant for the augmentation of poorer livings, since called Queen Anne's Bounty. On the whole, with all his faults, Gilbert Burnet ranks with the best men who have presided over the Diocese of Sarum.

I have said that secular history seems to have passed Salisbury by, but in 1688 it was the headquarters of James II. when preparing to meet the advance of William of Orange. For some weeks the little cathedral city wore a brilliant and busy appearance, frequented with gorgeously-attired nobles and officers, and thronged with the red-coated soldiery whom the wrong-headed king expected to defend him against his son-in-law. With the sullen monarch must often have been seen in the streets of Salisbury the serene, handsome, almost feminine face of his favourite and betrayer, John Lord Churchill, presently to be Duke of Marlborough and conqueror of France. Salisbury Plain for the first time, perhaps, was white with the tents of British soldiers, but there was no fighting, for the royal army, rotten with discontent and treason, broke up in disorder and retreated to London, leaving William free to occupy Salisbury without opposition.

From that day to this it may be said that Salisbury has had no history save that which arises out of the circumstance that the great plain has often been the camp and manœuvring-ground of British military forces. The last and greatest occasion was in the World War of 1914–18.



Salisbury Cathedral

CHAPTER V

A DESCRIPTION OF SALISBURY CATHEDRAL

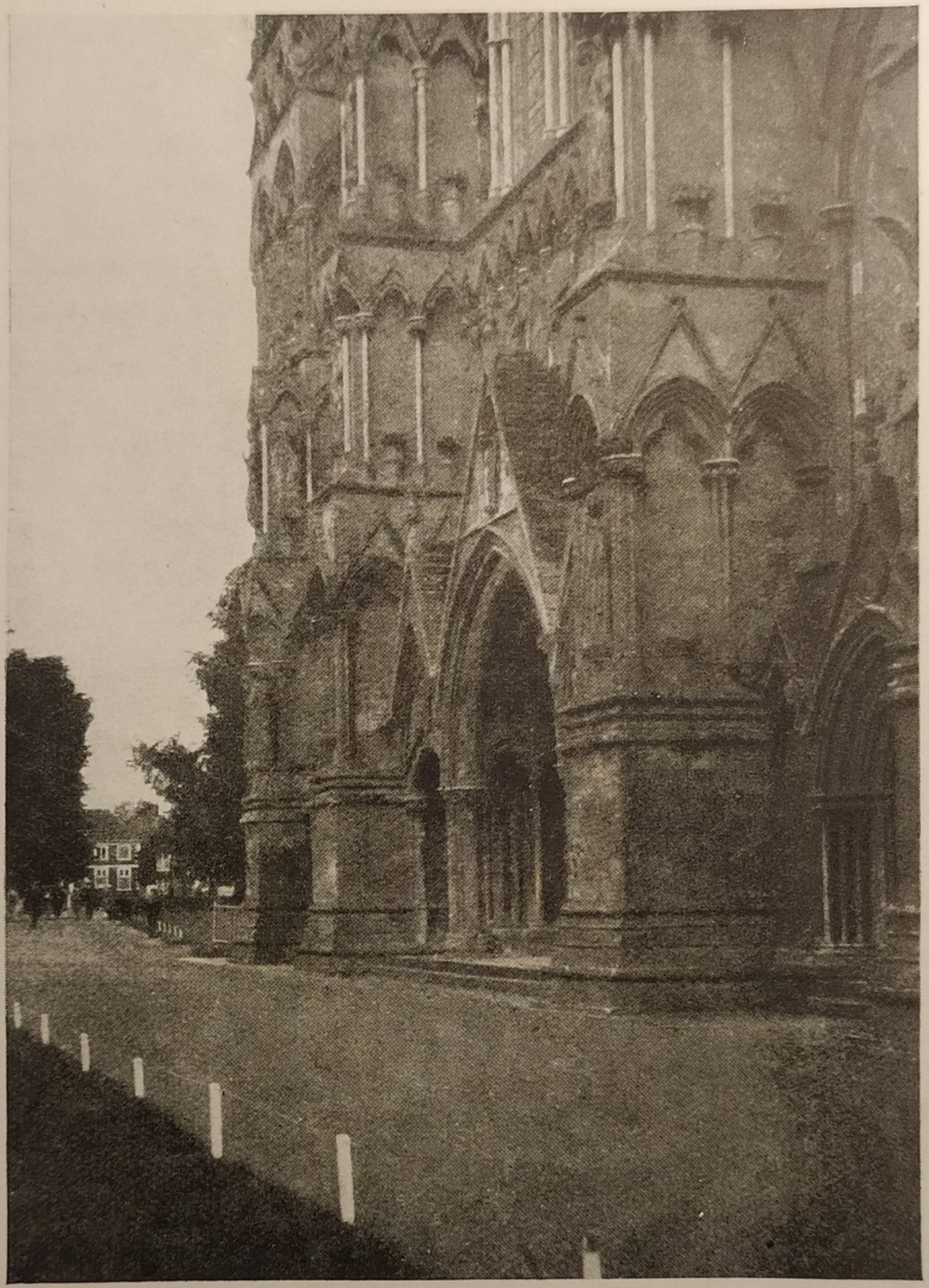
Concerning the precise merits, from the artistic point of view, of the Cathedral of Salisbury, opinions differ somewhat widely, but as regards the exterior there is less divergence of sentiment than respecting the interior: defects of detail are forgotten in surveying the magnificent whole. Pugin declared that in all Europe there was nothing to compare with it, and, if his feelings were somewhat overcharged with enthusiasm, it cannot be denied that he could advance cogent reasons in support of his dictum.

First of all, the setting of the great church is remarkable—it is, if not absolutely the most beautiful, the most religiously tranquil in England. It stands alone and stately in the midst of a wide enclosure which is more park-like than any cathedral close throughout the length and breadth of our island. The great garden-mead has not the frowning majesty of the cliff whereupon the triple towers of St. Cuthbert look down upon the Wear. Neither has it the curious calm dominance of the knoll upon whose crown the vast fane of Ely rears itself against the sky. A mere flat in a marshy river valley—this sounds unimpressive until it is seen.

But when the observer stands in the close of Salisbury, he is constrained forthwith to admit that no other episcopal church in England, or indeed in Europe, possesses the setting which Richard le Poore designed for his stately fane. Broad and verdant, and bejewelled with century-old trees, the great enclosure

EAST GATE OF THE GREAT WALLED CLOSE OF SALISBURY
The spire of the Cathedral appears over the gables to the left.

surrounds the splendid monument of English art which soars heavenward in its midst. No buildings approach or impinge upon the vast grey pile which rears itself so proudly from the greensward; from every side it may be surveyed and studied without a single object or structure to distract one's gaze. The fairest of gems may be spoiled in beauty by an inappropriate setting, but that is not the case with the Cathedral of



G. H.

THE LOWER PORTIONS OF THE WEST FRONT OF SALISBURY CATHEDRAL

The façade, although containing features of considerable beauty, is incoherent as a whole, but from this standpoint the unsatisfactory elements do not appear.

Salisbury, which, as the writer saw it last, seemed as a fairy structure floating on an emerald lake.

It was not until 1326 that a licence to build an embattled wall around the close was granted by Edward III. Five years later authority was given to the bishop and canons to use the materials of the abandoned church of Old Sarum for this purpose, and it is interesting to notice by the North Gate and elsewhere indications of Norman sculpturing on the masonry.

It is often said, and quite commonly believed, that Salisbury Cathedral is built in one style—Early English. That is not the truth. It so happened that the greater part of the church was constructed within a period of fifty years, but that half-century includes when the Early English style reached a state of transition, and the cathedral was not built as a unit, the process of completion being from east to west. Therefore, while the eastern portions are pure Early English the west front is on the very verge of Decorated Gothic. The central tower is still more obviously Decorated in feeling, if not in detail, and if the spire can be assigned to any style at all, that style is probably Decorated. Internally, also, there are two magnificent pieces of Perpendicular architecture.

THE WEST FRONT is quite frankly the most disappointing part of the cathedral. It is a curious fact that whereas the English mediæval church-builders surpassed their French rivals in producing edifices of pure religious feeling, they fell immeasurably behind them in the composition of façades. Possibly the shy unassuming English national character has had

something to say in the matter. As artistic wholes I think that the greater English cathedrals hold their own fairly with those of France, if indeed they do not surpass them. Canterbury, as I see it, is far more beautiful in its contours than Amiens, nor do I think the façade of Amiens by any means admirable as a conception, granting that its details are wonderful. But that of Rheims was a glorious dream of beauty in every respect, and for absolute grace that of Notre Dame at Paris has no rival. No English church can show anything to compare with these—given always that *in detail* the west front of Wells is as fine as the finest thing which France ever produced.

The west front of Salisbury is a sad failure. The worst feature about it is its hopeless incoherence. The body and the wings appear to have no kind of artistic connection, and the flanking turrets are most distressing to the eye, owing to the insets of the arcades, which give them the appearance of having been piled up by the uncertain hand of a child who puts brick upon brick from his box of toys with little idea of what the result will be. If this be a fair description, it is not what one would expect from a master-craftsman.

Taking it in detail the façade of Salisbury consists of a central gabled core, two wings, and two flanking turrets, but there is no clear division between them. The central portion appears as though designed to merge into the wings, being then pared off and separated from them with buttresses. It consists of four stages. The lowermost stage comprises a central gabled porch flanked by two smaller archways. The central opening is quite satisfactory; the contour of

the arch is opulent and excellent; but the flanking openings are bad and the whole triplet is too small and insignificant.

Above this is an arcade of eleven openings, each forming a niche with a statue. There is no fault to find with this; it is extremely good and graceful—but it is carried round the flanking buttresses, thus producing that effect of instability and top-heaviness which everywhere disfigures the frontage. On this statued arcade stands a noble triplet of Early English lancets as admirable as anything produced during the XIIIth century, but—horrible to relate—it is flanked by blind half-lancets, each filled with three superposed niches—an idea destructive of unity and the feeling of beauty. The same bad conception appears in the second stages of the wings.

The gable which crowns the central portion is disfigured by no such product of a diseased artistic mind as is found below, but cannot well be described as excelling either in design or artistic feeling.

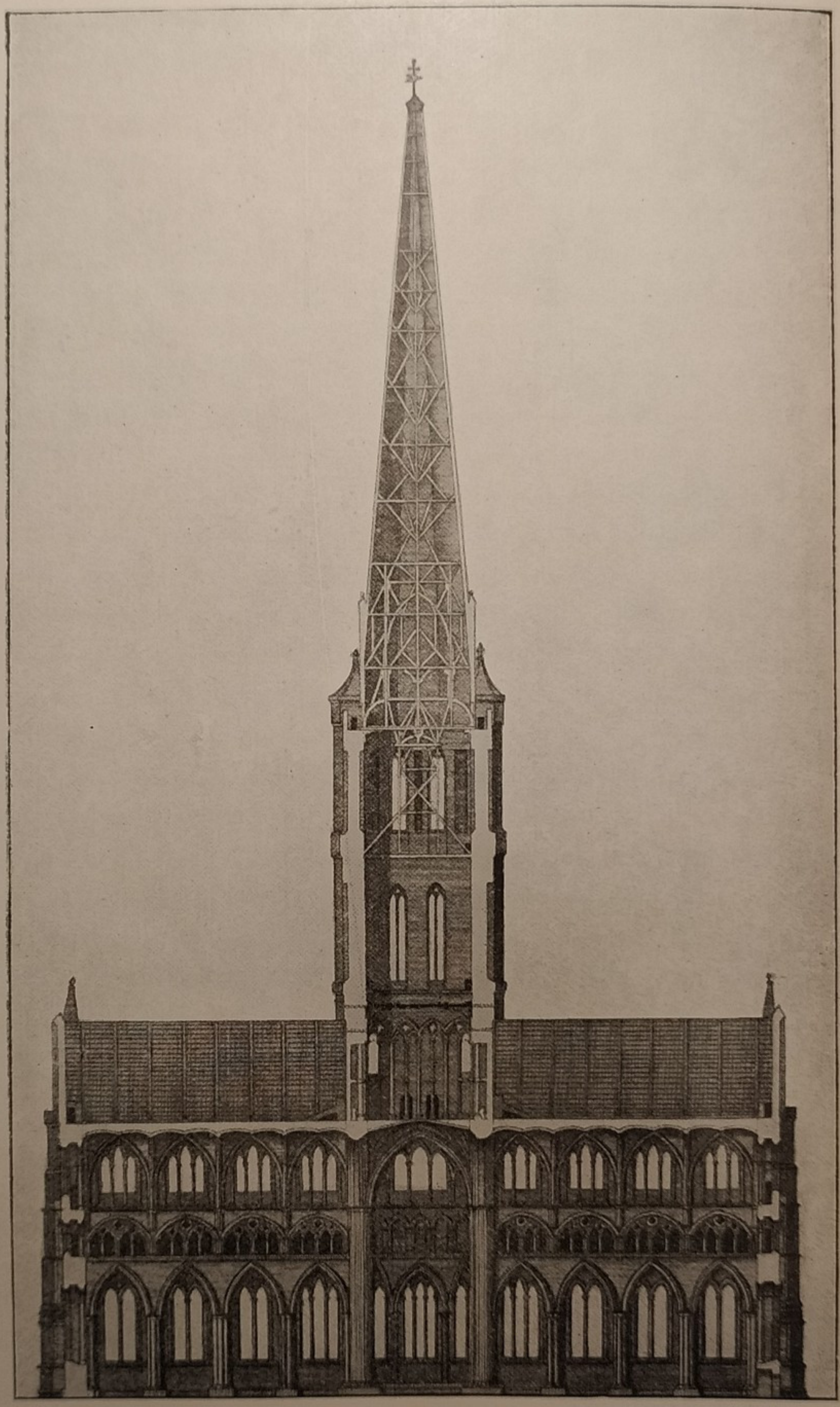
The flanking turrets have on face three niches in the first tier, four in the second, and two pairs in the third, each pair crowned to an arch with a quatrefeuille in the tympanum. The general effect is not unsatisfactory, but it is incoherent and top-heavy. The fourth stage of each wing is formed by a cornice of quatrefeuilles.

The fifth stage in each wing, including the turrets, is thoroughly graceful and pleasant. It comprises six delicious Early English blank archways, each pair enclosed within a large one, with a quatrefeuille filling up the tympanum space. Some of the statues which

occupied the twelve niches are now missing, but considered by itself there is no fault to find with this beautiful arcade. The inner wings are completed by blank arcades of seven openings on either side, and the turrets by similar but loftier arcades, each of three trefoliated arches. Each turret is capped by an octagonal spirelet. These are not especially satisfying, but they fitly complete the effect of a good and graceful conception.

And now—will it be believed that these really graceful uppermost portions of the flanking screen are imposed upon those below right out of centre? It seems incredible, but is a fact. The arches on the left side are pushed to the left, those on the right to the right, so that the whole upper erection seems to have no relation whatsoever to the portions below, but to have been dumped upon it without any reference to the canons of architecture or of artistic beauty.

Such is the west front of Salisbury Cathedral. It is a patchwork. There are admirable things in it, but they are so much spoiled by inartistic arrangements that it is difficult to appreciate them, and bad things and good have been jumbled together in a fashion which is astonishing. The front is an incoherent assemblage of independent fractions, not all of which are in themselves distinguished by artistic merit. If Salisbury Cathedral had nothing more to show than its west front, it would be poor indeed. The best which can be said of it is that at a distance it has an aspect of gorgeous magnificence, but when its defects are realised, it is a relief to leave it for the simpler and infinitely more beautiful work which it hides.



A Section through the Tower and Transepts of Salisbury Cathedral

The absolute uniformity of style is very apparent, and also the great height of the spire.

The best general view of the cathedral is perhaps that from the north-east. From this point the general uniformity and perfection of the great building can be surveyed at a glance. The west front is almost invisible, and its imperfections are not to be seen, while the majesty of the church as a whole is brightly manifest. The symmetry of the component portions, the clean grace and beauty of the choir and double transepts, the attractive grouping of the transepts with the choir and the eastern chapels, in themselves form a most attractive picture, the effect of which is heightened by the almost uniform hue of the venerable grey pile. The whole complex is crowned and completed by the superb central tower and its spire. I am not prepared, having seen all three, to maintain that the spire itself is absolutely superior to those of Norwich and Chichester, but the spire and tower as a whole appear to me incomparably superior to anything of their type in England, if not in Europe. The south spire of Chartres is perhaps as fine, but it suffers from the characteristic French fault of superabundance of ornament. The tower of Salisbury is not too lavishly decorated: it is a tower in spirit; and the spire rises splendidly from its solid base.

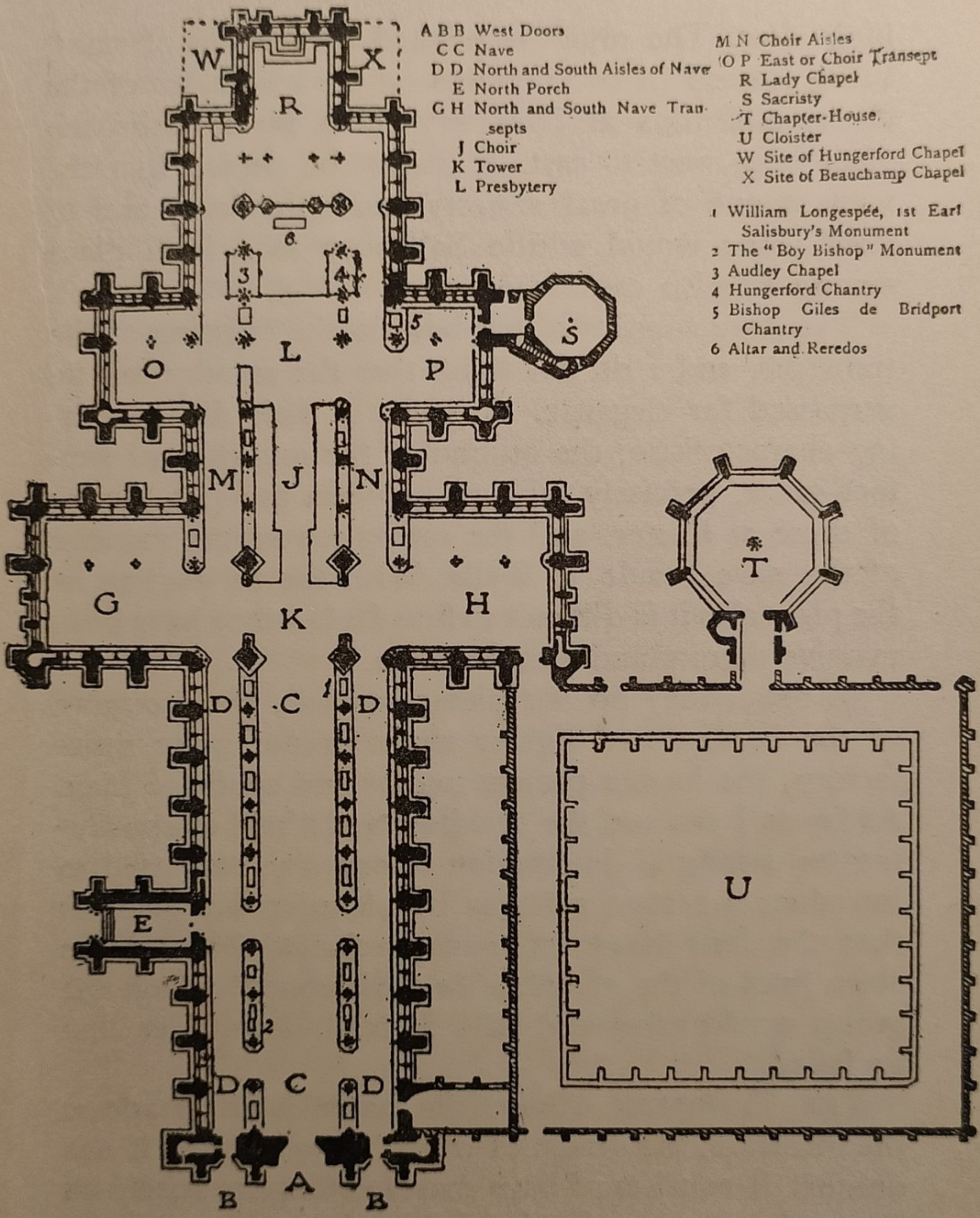
One slight defect is apparent in the view. The tower does not rise quite satisfactorily from the crossing of nave and transepts. The architect did not succeed in achieving the wondrous triumph of Goldstone II. when he designed the Angel Tower of Canterbury. As one surveys it, it becomes apparent that the tower of Salisbury is to the eye slightly too narrow at the spring, or else a trifle too broad above. It has

the aspect of bulging very slightly—of being broader at the first stage than at the base. It is a definite defect. The architect seems to have realised it, for he made the second stage smaller than the first, but the device was not very successful. The only remedy, as far as I can see, would have been to build the tower with a slight "batter," or inclination inwards.

The most beautiful view of all is that from the south-east, from the path which leads to the north side of the bishop's palace. The vast grey fane is partially screened by thick foliage, and this gives to it an aspect of mysterious seclusion, which is lacking in the more complete architectural prospect from the north-east. The severe grace of the choir and transepts, with their admirable combination of simplicity and embellishment, is most apparent, and the beauty of the spire is almost overpowering. The interposition of the south-eastern transept prevents the defect above noted from being apparent, so that the spring of the tower loses the slight appearance of awkwardness, while the perfection of the lines of the crowning glory of the cathedral is self-evident.

The Interior

Entering by the north porch and standing at the west end beneath the great Early English triplet, the whole length of nave and choir lies before the beholder. There is no interruption to the view, as a pulpitum does not exist, and the eye is carried past the light modern rood-screen to the triple arcade behind the


A B B West Doors
C C Nave
D D North and South Aisles of Nave
E North Porch
G H North and South Nave Transepts
J Choir
K Tower
L Presbytery
M N Choir Aisles
O P East or Choir Transept
R Lady Chapel
S Sacristy
T Chapter-House
U Cloister
W Site of Hungerford Chapel
X Site of Beauchamp Chapel
1 William Longespée, 1st Earl Salisbury's Monument
2 The "Boy Bishop" Monument
3 Audley Chapel
4 Hungerford Chantry
5 Bishop Giles de Bridport Chantry
6 Altar and Reredos

PLAN OF SALISBURY CATHEDRAL

high altar. The organ is pushed almost out of sight, being located in two sections on the two sides of the choir, and thus at Salisbury there is an unbroken vista from west to east. It cannot be denied that the view is one of great majesty and splendour, and of itself alone would entitle Salisbury to a high place among English cathedrals.

The nave consists of ten bays to the crossing of the transepts, and I do not think that the arcades can be surpassed for elegance. Elegance is their distinguishing characteristic; the outline of the arches is of perfect grace, precisely midway between the rich curves of those at Exeter, and the rather too severe contour of the nave arcade at Wells. With the proportion of the piers also it is difficult to find fault—they have both massive dignity and slender grace.

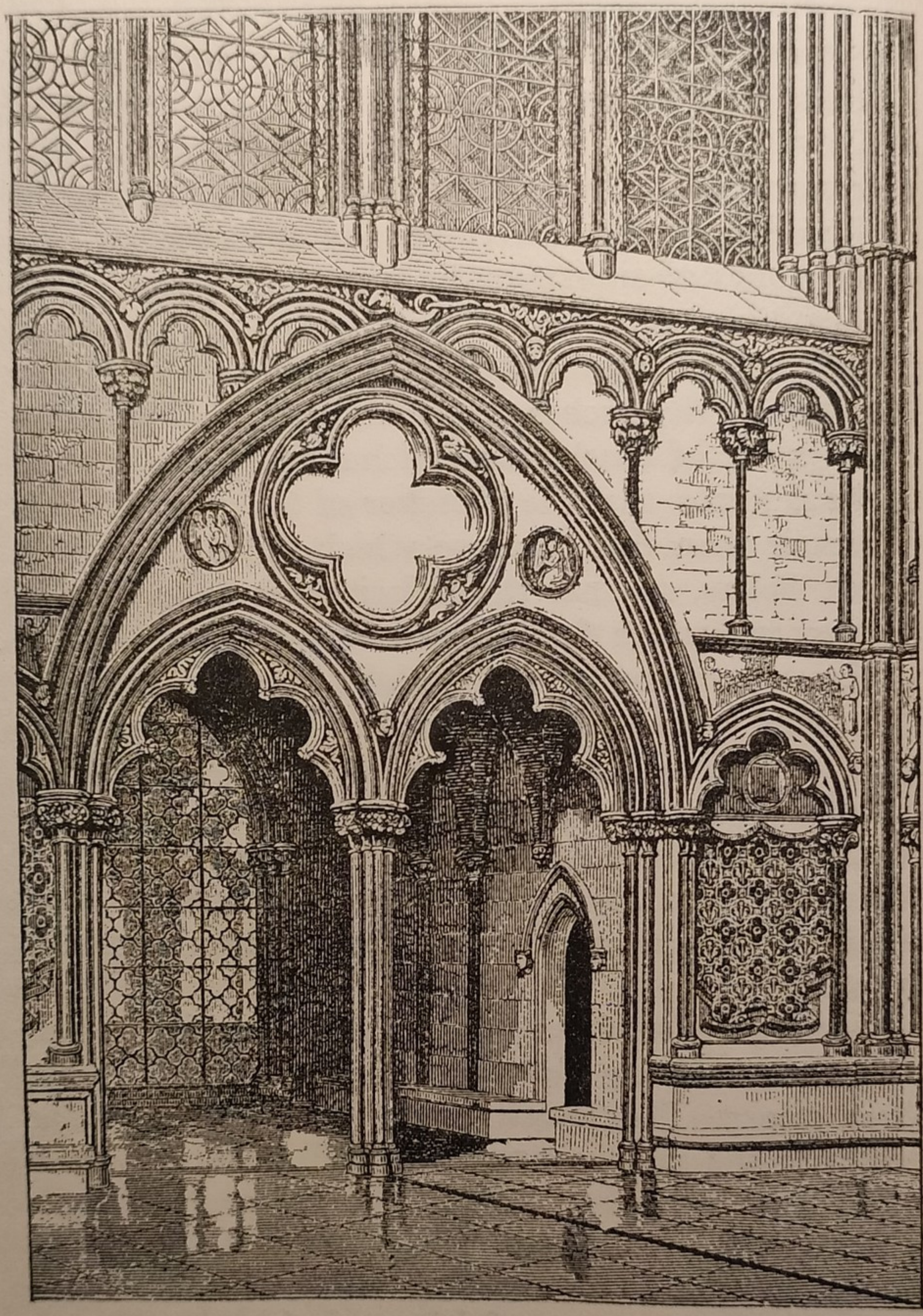
In detail they do not please so well; the grouping of the heavier and lighter shafts is not quite satisfactory; the former project too far and spoil the plan. As far as I can see, the architect was afraid of conveying too strong an impression of severity, and tried to introduce a certain softness by planning his piers so that the four larger columns projected beyond the stern lines of the rhombus or "diamond" which the group would otherwise have formed. I consider that he failed.

The Triforium. Above the noble main arcade is the triforium, the design of which is remarkable, if not unique. It consists of bays corresponding precisely to the main arcades. Its height is almost that of the pitch of the main arches, and is admirably proportioned to the whole design of the building—neither

too low nor too lofty. It comprises a succession of flattened Early English arches borne on very short and massive piers, each having the appearance of a core surrounded by eighteen closely-assembled shafts of Purbeck marble. Enveloped by the arch are two smaller ones of similar outline, separated by a quadruple grouped pier; and each is divided again into two trefoliated arches separated by a single shaft. In the tympana of the arches are quatrefeuilles. The whole effect is one of much chaste richness; the weak point of the design is that the diameter of the grouped piers is greater than that of those which uphold the main arcade below, so that the triforium actually appears to be more massive than the structure which upholds it.

Above the triforium is the high clerestory, each bay lighted by a triad of Early English lancets of extreme grace of outline. The shafts of the vaulting rise from corbels at the spring of the triforium arches. The contour of the bays of the clerestory is perhaps rather "skimped," but the outline of the vault itself is most admirable; its curves are wonderfully true and generous in feeling.

THE WEST END is as effective a composition as was ever conceived by the Early English artists. It has three stages. The lowermost, which reaches to the height of the piers, consists of a wall enriched with a triple blind arcade and pierced in the centre by the double western doorway. Above this is a triforium similar to that on both sides of the nave, but with narrower and more graceful bays. It forms a support for the great western triple lancet window; the whole composition is remarkably splendid and effective.



THE DOORWAY OF THE CHAPTER-HOUSE OF SALISBURY CATHEDRAL
It is one of the most beautiful Early English doors in existence.

THE WESTERN TRIPLET. The great western triplet is further notable as containing the greater portion of the stained glass rescued from the conscienceless destroyers of post-Reformation times. It ranges in date from the XIIIth century to the XVth century. The earlier glass was no doubt painted for the cathedral; some of the later glazing is said to be Flemish. Several figures can be made out, also various medallions, but the actual subjects are in dispute. In two of the side-windows of the nave there is no difficulty in dating the glass, since it displays the arms of Bishop Jewel and his contemporary, John ap Rice ("Price").

THE AISLES OF THE NAVE correspond in style with the nave itself, and in that respect there is nothing to be said about them. The contour of their vaults is more severe, and not less pleasant than that of the nave, but the vista afforded by them is full of reserve and mystery. Each bay is lighted by a double lancet; the outlines of these couples are excellent.

One peculiarity is to be noted. The piers do not rise from the pavement, but from two almost continuous bases which Roman architects would have called *spinae*. Each *spina* is now pierced in two places, but originally they were probably unbroken. They seem to have been a device of the builders for insuring greater stability on the marshy foundations.

The general atmosphere of the nave is perhaps rather cold, and this is enhanced by the use of polished Purbeck marble in the slenderer shafts of the principal piers, as well as for the dwarf piers of the triforium, and the pilasters and vaulting ribs. This gives everywhere an impression of powerful and not always pleasant

contrasts. The accumulation of Purbeck marble in the closely-assembled and densely-grouped piers of the triforium has resulted in the strangest effect. Looking up the nave there appears to be a continuous black band above the main arcade.

Monuments of the Nave

Motley found Salisbury Cathedral too neat for his task, and this was unquestionably due to the fact that the bulk of the monuments are arranged on the *spinae* beneath the arcades. This mechanical arrangement was the work of Wyatt, and it was performed with his customary barbarous disregard of historical and archæological considerations, so that not only portions of monuments but the human remains beneath were ruthlessly displaced.

At the west end, on either side of the doorway, are two monuments, neither of special interest on any count. That on the south side is to Thomas, Lord Wingham of Finglass, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, who died in 1745; it is surmounted by a marble statue of Hibernia by Rysbrack. The other is to Dr. Daubigny Turberville, an oculist of Salisbury of the XVIIth century. On the walls of the aisles there is a considerable number of tablets, but hardly one of them possesses interest.

Far otherwise is the case of the monuments ranged along the *spinae*. At the south-west end is an obviously ancient episcopal monument, which seems to be one of those transferred from Old Sarum by Richard le

G. H.

LOOKING ACROSS THE NAVE OF SALISBURY CATHEDRAL FROM THE SOUTH AISLE

The effigy is that of Robert, Lord Hungerford, who fought in the wars in France during the Jeanne d'Arc period and died in 1459.

Poore. Those bishops whose remains are stated to have been translated are Jocelyn, Roger the Justiciar, and St. Osmund. Herman is not mentioned, but the monument is said to be his. It seems reasonable to suppose that the removal of his bones from the old to the new cathedral would not have escaped notice, and in the absence of any reference thereto, the conclusion is that for some reason Herman's remains were never re-interred. It is most probable that this tomb-slab once covered the body of Roger the Justiciar.

Near it in the next occupied section of the platform are two more archaic-looking tomb-slabs—one to a bishop whose effigy is incised upon it. The head is a restoration; it is clean-shaven, and crowned with a mitre of late XIIIth-century type, while the sculpture of the slab generally points to a much earlier period. Identification seems impossible.

Much the same must be said of its neighbour. It is quite plainly one of the earliest tomb-slabs in England, and, equally certainly, is that of a bishop, as is proved by the effigy. There is a long Latin epitaph, the gist of which is that the prelate was of noble birth, tracing his ancestry from dukes and princes; while he lived, he protected all those who were wretched and oppressed, and was a fearless opponent of powerful tyrants, their scourge and terror. It says: "To-day men mourn at Salesberie because now is dead that sword of justice, the father of the church of Salisbury."

The epitaph is enlightening. First it alludes unequivocally to a period of misery and disorder, during which the bishop, the father and the sword of justice, alone was able to protect the oppressed. This surely

points to the anarchy of the reign of Stephen. There is also a clear allusion to the dead man's noble descent. It seems therefore almost certain that this must be the sepulchre of Jocelyn de Bohun.

The next tomb is quite unidentifiable. Beyond it is the table-tomb of Bishop Richard de Beauchamp. It is not, however, the original sepulchre of the prelate. Its former position was in the north-west transept, and when transferred it was empty. Probably it was desecrated at the Reformation. Bishop Beauchamp and his parents lay in a beautiful Perpendicular chantry on the south side of the Lady Chapel, demolished by that most hateful of vandals, Wyatt. At the destruction his tomb vanished, and the bones were placed for safety beneath the derelict sepulchre.

Further on is a tomb made up of fragments saved from the ruins of the Hungerford Chapel, which stood on the north side of the Lady Chapel. The effigy is that of Robert, Lord Hungerford, who fought in the wars in France under John, Duke of Bedford, and in 1453 was in the disastrous expedition into Guienne led by John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury. He died in 1459 after all the fruits of Agincourt had been lost. The figure is extremely interesting from the light which it throws upon English armour in the xvth century. The hair is cut short to the head as in the case of Henry V., this fashion having succeeded the custom of wearing flowing locks which prevailed under Richard II. and Henry IV. It was not continued for long; by about 1460, English gentlemen were allowing their hair to grow again. The feet rest upon a couching hound wearing a decorated collar. The

armour is nearly complete plate, elaborately fluted, the hip belt is a sumptuous piece of work, and round the neck is a collar of SS. (=Souveraigne).

Next on the *spina* is what is probably the base of St. Osmund's shrine, with the three apertures or "foramina" on each side, into which sick persons thrust themselves in the hope of being cured. It was, and apparently is, popularly believed to be the tomb of Charles Lord Stourton, who was hanged in Salisbury Market-place on 6th March, 1556, for a peculiarly savage murder carried out by his retainers at his order. The six apertures were absurdly supposed to be emblematic of the six sources of the Stour at Storrhead, the seat of the Stourtons.

Beyond the remains of St. Osmund's shrine is a tomb made up of collected fragments, upon which lies the sadly mutilated effigy of

Effigy of Robert, Lord Hungerford, on the South Side of the Nave

The plate armour is fluted in an elaborate manner.

Bishop Walter de la Wyle, according to the identification now accepted. The evidence is not very conclusive, but on the whole the effigy appears to date from the XIIIth century, and may very well be that of the once famous prelate, the founder of the church of St. Edmund in the northern quarter of Salisbury.

Effigy of William Longespée I.

Underneath the next arch is perhaps the most interesting of all the monuments in the cathedral. It is that of William Longespée, Earl of Salisbury, half-brother of Richard I. He is popularly supposed to have been the son of Henry II. by Rosamund de Clifford, but this appears doubtful: there is considerable reason to think that William's mother was a relative of a certain Sir Roger de Ykenai or Akeny. This name may very well be the same as the modern Ikin, which to all appearance is connected with the British tribal name Iceni. The only very solid reason in favour of the contention that Earl William was the son of the fair and frail Rosamund is that he was apparently born about 1175, which harmonises with what Giraldus Cambrensis says concerning the date of the royal liaison.

However that may be, William received from his father and half-brother all the honours which could well be expected by a left-handed descendant of royalty, and in 1198 was created Earl of Salisbury

by Richard I. and married to Ela, the daughter and heiress of the second earl. By John he was made Sheriff of Wiltshire, Lieutenant of Gascony, Warden of the Welsh Marches, and held many other offices. A young man and feeling himself a member of the Royal Family, his political ideas at this time were very simple, being summed up in the single phrase, "fidelity to his blood." He stood firmly by his half-brother John, and naturally became more or less involved in some of that evil monarch's evil deeds. But in the main he seems to have been an upright man with a strong sense of honour and devotion to duty.

William Longespée's greatest title to fame is that he gained the first great naval victory for England over France at Damme in 1213, capturing or destroying some five hundred craft of one sort and another, and effectually thwarting the project of Philippe Auguste to invade England. In the following year the tables were turned, for William was captured at the famous Battle of Bouvines, 24th July, 1214. His captor was, by the way, the French Bishop of Beauvais, who knocked him off his horse with a heavy mace. He was quickly exchanged for Philip's cousin, Robert of Dreux, and when he returned to England was among those who counselled John to accede to the demands of the barons and grant Magna Carta. He still adhered faithfully to the king until the summer of 1216, when the Dauphin Louis captured Winchester, and John's cause seemed lost. But after the death of his half-brother his affections asserted themselves, and he drew his sword for the young Henry III. At the

decisive Battle of Lincoln he led one of the five detachments of the royal army.[1]

Earl William lived for ten years after the Battle of Lincoln—one of the foremost men in England. As far as we can see him, he appears to have had many of the characteristics of his father and his brother Richard. He was hot-tempered and impulsive, and therefore capable of cruelty, but not deliberately brutal, and at heart generous and fundamentally religious. He was, with one brief and slight lapse, for which he could plead abundant justification, steadily faithful to king and country. On the whole, William Longespée was a worthy member of the House of Plantagenet, decidedly superior to most of the barons of his time, and by no means undeserving of the title "Flower of Earls" (*Flos Comitum*) which was inscribed upon his tomb.

His last service was the successful defence of Guienne against Louis VIII. of France in 1225. On his return he was driven out into the Atlantic by storms, and reached England in a dying condition after three months of wandering. He lingered for twelve weeks longer at his castle of Salisbury, and died on 7th March, 1226. His end was such as might have been expected of a brother of Richard of the Lion-Heart—indeed it might have been that of Cœur-de-Lion himself. He sent for Richard le Poore, and when the bishop entered his chamber, the dying earl dragged himself from his bed and knelt before him, crying that

[1] The other leaders were the Commander-in-Chief, William the Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Chester, Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester, and Fawkes de Bréauté.

G. H.

THE TOMB OF WILLIAM LONGESPÉE, THE ELDER, IN THE NAVE OF SALISBURY CATHEDRAL

One of the foremost men in England in his time. He was half-brother of Richard I. and John, and gained the first English naval victory over the French in 1213 at Damme.

he was a traitor to God, and would not rise until he had confessed his sins. It was an action quite in the spirit of his strange Angevin ancestors,—even the terrible bloodstained Fulk Nerra had been subject to fits of religiosity—but there is no reason to believe that the sins of William Longespée were especially great.

The effigy still has traces of the brilliant colouring which it showed when it was laid upon the tomb of the first Norman-Englishman to win the *Corona Navalis*. Otherwise it is of real merit as a work of art. The folds of the long surcoat are admirable, so is the treatment of the mail shirt. The pose, too, is fine—the warrior grasping the hilt of his sword, prepared to draw, while he turns his head in keen alertness. The effigy shows the fashion of armour at the time—almost the final development of the chain-panoply which had (probably) been invented by Roman soldiers in the IVth century. Legs and arms are completely covered, but the fingers of the mail gloves are not differentiated. The hood is curious, covering the chin—an improvement which, I think, had just come through to the West from the Byzantine Empire. The large three-cornered shield bears a blazonry of six lions rampant in gold, indicating that William was a scion of the royal houses of England and Anjou.

The first tomb on the left side, counting from the west end, has never been identified. Beneath the third arch are two monuments both of great interest. The first is a small slab, which was long described as the tomb of a boy-bishop, since it is sculptured with a miniature episcopal effigy. If a boy-bishop the effigy

would surely be truly life-size, whereas this is tiny. There is a similar monument at Abbey Dore in Herefordshire, and another in Winchester Cathedral. The most reasonable theory concerning these puzzling slabs is that they cover the heart of a bishop whose body was buried elsewhere. In that case it is by no means improbable that under this one was interred the heart of Richard le Poore. He is known to have been buried at Tarrant, but it is more than likely that the Chapter of Salisbury obtained some portion of his remains to be laid in the cathedral which he had founded.

Effigy of William Longespée the Younger on the North Side of the Nave

Beside this monument is that of William Longespée II., eldest son of William Longespée I. by the Lady Ela. He occupies no such important place in history as his father, but was nevertheless a prominent figure at the court of Henry III., and has earned renown by his gallant death while on Crusade. He does not ever seem to have been formally Earl of Salisbury, though he was usually styled as such. He seems, from all what is known of him, to have been a really fine character, upright, brave and God-fearing, with the virtues both of his gallant father and his pious mother.

In 1249, William, then about thirty-five years of age, joined St. Louis of France in his Egyptian Crusade, bringing with him two hundred English knights. His

standard-bearer was another scion of a noble race—Robert de Vere. Louis received his allies graciously; not so his brother, Robert of Artois, a hot-headed, haughty French prince of small ability and ridiculous vanity, one of those men of whom France has been so prolific, and who have always brought disaster upon her.

Never was a great expedition more thoroughly ruined by the misconduct of all connected with it. Louis was too weak to control his vain and over-confident nobles, much less to dominate his contemptible brother, and he possessed not a grain of military ability. Robert was as incompetent as Louis, and had none of the virtues of his brother; from the first his haughtiness and lack of tact were a prime factor in preventing united action. Lastly, the French nobles, as a whole, were precisely what they always were until the time came when they were taken in cart-loads to the guillotine—that is to say "chivalrous," but haughty, narrow-minded, morbidly and excessively vain.

Count Robert spent most of his time in deliberately insulting William Longespée, and the French nobles followed his example, until the position of the English became intolerable. The principal epithet applied by this royal "cad" to his allies was "long-tailed English cowards." On their side the English, perhaps, displayed too much independence and proneness to act by themselves, but in that respect their associates set such a bad example that William and his followers can hardly be blamed. By them was achieved most of the really useful work of the campaign, by cutting off Egyptian supply-caravans and reinforcements, while

the French host lay stranded in front of Mansûrah. Their reward was more insult of the most contemptible description, while the plunder which they had taken was appropriated by the French lords. When appealed to by William, King Louis miserably confessed that he could not issue orders to noble and princely men, whereupon the downright Englishman told him to his face that he was no king at all. With that Longespée and his knights withdrew to Syria, but an appeal from Louis brought them back in the grand fashion of England—of all nations in the world the sternest fighters and the most ready to forgive.

It had been well for William and his knights had they been obdurate. Louis made a last effort to extricate himself from his difficulties, and succeeded in crossing the arm of the Nile behind which the Egyptian army lay. But all hope of success was thrown away by the half-insane Robert of Artois, who commanded the vanguard. When urged to wait for the arrival of his brother with the main body by William de Sonnac, Grand Master of the Templars, and William Longespée, he called the Grand Master a traitor and the Englishman a long-tailed coward. Longespée quietly answered, like the gentleman he was: "I shall go to-day where you will not dare to keep level with the tail of my horse!" So the mad rush was made into the Egyptian army, which closed in and almost annihilated the crusading force. Both William Longespée and William de Sonnac fell, victims to the madness which they had endeavoured to combat. After this it is with something like pleasure that the historian records the destruction of almost the whole French army and the

captivity of the king, for if ever men deserved an evil fate, they assuredly did.

It is not quite clear whether the body of William Longespée II. was recovered. If so, it was buried in the Church of the Holy Cross at Acre, so that the monument in the nave of Salisbury Cathedral must be regarded as a cenotaph. It is said that on the day of his death, his mother, Countess Ela, received heavenly warning of the event and saw her son sitting in glory, in full armour, with the lions glittering on his shield, acclaimed by a band of angels.

Beyond the Longespée monument are two tombs unidentified, and the next to them in the line is that of Sir John de Montacute, who died in 1389–90. He was the brother of Edward III.'s intimate friend and minister, William de Montacute, first Earl of Salisbury of the Montacute line, and ancestor of the later earls, since the second holder of the title, William II., died without issue. The effigy is a fine specimen of its class, showing the armour of the period, part mail and part plate, with open helmet. The gauntlets are elaborately decorated.

Beyond the tomb of Montacute are those of Walter, Baron Hungerford, and his wife, Katharine Peverell. The brasses have been removed. Lord Hungerford was one of the comrades of Henry V. in his invasion of France in 1413: his contingent consisted of twenty men-at-arms and sixty archers. He was Steward of the Household to the infant king, Henry VI., and from 1426 to 1431 Treasurer of England. He is perhaps best remembered for having inspired Henry V.'s famous outburst on the field of Agincourt, for it was

he who, surveying the overwhelming masses of the French, muttered that it would be well if there were ten thousand more gallant Englishmen in the field. He was one of those who are braver in actual danger than in the contemplation of it—a type somewhat common among Englishmen.

Nearest to the crossing is the sumptuous alabaster sepulchre of Sir John Cheyney, one of the small band of faithful adherents with whom Henry Tudor made his bid for the throne of England in 1485. Though a noted warrior and a staunch Lancastrian, his fame in popular history is chiefly due to the fact that at the Battle of Bosworth, as he endeavoured to shield Henry, he was ridden down by Richard III. The strength with which despair and Plantagenet pride had inspired Richard in the last moments of his life may perhaps be gauged by the fact that he first cut down Sir William Brandon, Henry's standard-bearer, and then overthrew Cheyney, a man so tall and powerful that his thigh-bone was twenty-one inches long—four more than the average.

As is known, King Richard's army was so thoroughly disaffected that, though much more than twice as strong as that of Henry Tudor, it made no real attempt to fight, but allowed itself to be scattered by a force which it could have overcome with ease had it cared to do so. Only the Howards—the Duke of Norfolk and his son—with some few other leaders, really tried to do their duty, and fought with Henry's vanguard under the Earl of Oxford, while Richard charged with his guards personally against his enemy.

All his ancestors had been desperate fighters at need,

and assuredly the last of the great line was the equal of the best, for he burst right into the close ring of knights around the future king and fought hand-to-hand with the latter, even while the Stanleys were closing in upon his dissolving host, which was giving up the fight and throwing away its arms and standards rather than fight. Down went Brandon; down went burly Cheyney, and one more trenchant axe-blow might have changed the course of history—but that was not to be. Hewing to right and left with his battle-axe, shouting "Treason" in his despair, Richard was encircled by foes like Leonidas at Thermopylæ, borne down by numbers, and battered to death beneath a storm of vengeful sword-cuts and axe-blows. And so the last Plantagenet, with his sins upon him, died the death of a brave man, so that even his enemies could not refuse him the meed of soldier-like admiration. Some of the most soul-stirring lines ever penned by an English poet were written in his honour by one of them—a retainer of Lord Stanley, the author of *The Ballad of Ladye Bessie*. Lady Bessie is Edward IV.'s daughter Elizabeth, afterwards married to Henry VII. Thus runs the tribute of an admiring foe:

Then a knight to King Richard 'gan say—good Sir William Harrington—
He saith, "All we are like this day to the death soon to be done;
There may no man their strokes abide, the Stanleys' dints they be so strong,
Ye may come back at another tide, methinks ye tarry here too long;
Your horse at your hand is ready, another day you may worship win
And come to reign with royalty, and wear your crown and be our king."

"Nay, give me my battleaxe in my hand, set the crown of England on my head so high,
For by Him that shaped both sea and land, King of England this day I will die.
One foot I will never flee whilst the breath is my breast within."
As he said so did it be—if he lost his life he died a king.

Sir John Cheyney lived for more than twenty years after his narrow escape from death at the hands of betrayed and desperate Richard Plantagenet, in high favour with the king whose life he had probably saved. His fine effigy shows him in full armour, but bare-headed; the hair, cut to the ears in the fashion which was then the rule, falling on both sides of the face. Sir John wears the collar of SS. with Henry VII.'s addition of the portcullis. This is the last and by no means the least interesting of the monuments of the nave.

The Main Transepts. The main transepts of Salisbury Cathedral afford a relief from what must be regarded—in no derogatory sense—as the general monotony of the architecture, for they are separated from the crossing by two most splendid and beautiful Perpendicular arches erected to support and strengthen the central piers. The transepts themselves are of good and graceful Early English architecture, similar to the nave, though probably a little earlier in point of date. Each has a single aisle on the east side, with three bays of the standard Salisburian type, and the southern and northern ends are very pleasing. Each consists of four stages—a base; a triplet of recessed lancets, occupying the whole width of the nave of the aisle; a third stage of three slightly flattened windows at the level of the triforium, and a fourth of a triplet of

windows, the central one having two lights with trefoliated heads, with an octofoil above, all enveloped by an arch which has much of the Decorated outline and flanked by lancets. There is a certain rigidity about these compositions—the division into stages is too mechanical—but they please by their very simplicity.

The Perpendicular Retaining Arches. The two great Perpendicular retaining arches are frankly engineering devices, but are very far from conveying that impression; on the contrary, they are most emphatically things of beauty. On the one hand they have the feeling of power; they seem strong enough to stand for all time, and yet they are instinct with stately grace. The arches are slightly flattened, but their contour is admirable: the strong-looking cornice and its battlements happily complete the effect of combined grace and power. Few things which I have seen in my wanderings among English cathedrals and churches please me so much as these splendid portal-like archways.

The view athwart the crossing, taking position in one of the transepts, is very fine and impressive. The narrowness of the transept naves gives an impression of soaring loftiness; there is a good glimpse of the graceful lancets and double-light windows at the ends, while athwart the view the beautiful retaining arches stand like twin gateways to another world.

Monuments in the Transepts. The monuments in the transepts may be described with comparative brevity, since few of them are connected with persons of especial mark. Artistically, the most interesting is the canopied table-tomb of Bishop Mitford (died 1407)

in the south transept. The canopy has a flattened arch with its spandrels sculptured with armorial shields, and the cornice has a decoration of lilies and birds, which hold in their beaks scrolls inscribed *Honor Deo et Gloria*. The other tombs in this transept have little artistic interest, though one must be noticed as covering the remains of Edward and Rachel Poore, who claimed descent from the family of the founder-bishop.

In the north transept must be noted a brass to the memory of John Britton, the famous antiquary, who deserves all honour for inspiring a revived interest in ecclesiastical art and archæology by his most careful and excellent monographs on English cathedrals, which are still a pleasure to study and a mine of information. There is an effigy by Chantrey to James Harris, father of the first Earl of Malmesbury and author of *Hermes*; also one to Sir R. C. Hoare, author of the *Histories of Ancient and Modern Wiltshire*. There are no less than three monuments by Flaxman, two of them in Gothic style. That to Mr. W. B. Benson is perhaps the best; it shows Benevolence drawing a veil aside from a relief of the Good Samaritan—but none of the three impresses the author as the lovely Morley memorial in Gloucester Cathedral.

The Choir Screen. The choir is separated from the nave by a metal-work screen, replacing one which the unspeakable Wyatt constructed by stealing the fragments of the Hungerford and Beauchamp chantries. This erection of Wyatt's superseded what seems to have been a most beautiful Early English pulpitum, of which remains are now in the south choir transept. The present screen is the work of Skidmore of

Coventry, and deserves no more mention than that it is a good enough example of its type. The wings are light and graceful, but the central portion is poor—much over-weighted by a pediment carrying a tall cross.

The Organ, a fine instrument by Willis, presented by Miss Chafyn Grove, is in two portions on each side of the second bay of the choir. The connecting machinery is in a tunnel beneath the pavement, and the larger pipes and the bellows are enclosed within a screen in the north transept. Screens of good, if stiff, design enclose the two portions of the instrument, and in this way it does not obstruct the view down the cathedral as at Exeter, or become an eyesore as at Wells.

The Choir

The choir consists of seven bays, in composition almost precisely similar to those elsewhere, but the piers have eight slender shafts to each, and the triforium of the last two bays is different. The easternmost bay is narrower than the rest, and is joined somewhat awkwardly to the arcade at the east end. This east end is graceful, but not so satisfactory as the internal façade of the nave.

The lowest stage consists of a very graceful Early English arcade, with an arch in the centre flanked by two narrower and slightly taller ones—a very curious conception, which I do not recollect seeing anywhere else in England. At the triforium level is a quintuplet of blank arches, while the third storey has a triplet of glazed lancets flanked by blind arches, the whole enveloped in trefoliate-type mouldings. The whole effect is very good, though again one has a feeling

that there is too much of rigidity and organisation into definite stages; the horizontal lines are too hard. I do not know what to say of the lower triple arcade; the grace of the arches is remarkable—yet I am assailed with an odd sense of the bizarre as I study them. I cannot discover a word which quite expresses my sensations, but perhaps "Saracenic" comes nearest to supplying the deficiency.

THE ROOF PAINTING. The contour of the vault is as simply graceful as that of the nave and transepts. It is decorated with restored medallions in colour, carefully reproduced from the original ones which were destroyed by the Reformation whitewash. There are thirty-six subjects in all—twenty-four depicting saints and angels, and twelve the more mundane theme of the months of the year. Of the actual artistic merits of the work opinions must vary, but it has the interest attaching to a really conscientious attempt to reproduce mediæval painting.

THE BISHOP'S THRONE AND CHOIR STALLS. The bishop's throne is modern and deserves no particular notice; it has the merits and defects of a modern attempt to copy mediæval wood sculpture. The choir stalls are constructed of woodwork of different periods; the seats and elbows are ancient, perhaps late XIIIth-century, while the poppy-heads of the benches date from about 1520. The lack of canopy-work unquestionably robs the choir of Salisbury Cathedral of the interest which clings to those which possess that embellishment.

THE REREDOS AND PULPIT. The reredos and pulpit are also modern. The former was designed by Scott

G. H.

IN THE NORTH PORCH OF SALISBURY CATHEDRAL

The exceedingly fine Early English double doorway and the arcading on either side are in keeping with the style of the whole building.

—and I confess frankly that it does not impress me. It is far too elaborate, and is out of keeping with the simplicity of the Early English work all about it. In general design it is perhaps effective, though I fail to see anything of genius in it. The pulpit, though without any pretension to special merit, is decidedly more in harmony with the architecture; the reredos is simply a very ornate and costly piece of church furniture. The same is to be said of the rest of the modern altar-fittings. I would not depreciate them, but to me they suggest expensive upholstery rather than anything else—something like the "best bed" of the Marquis of Winchester in Basing House, which cost £1300.

Monuments of the Choir. Most of the monuments of the choir belong properly to the aisles, but three are so close to the altar that they come within the choir itself. They are the Hungerford Chantry, the Audley Chantry, and the tomb which is assigned either to Richard le Poore or to Robert de Bingham.

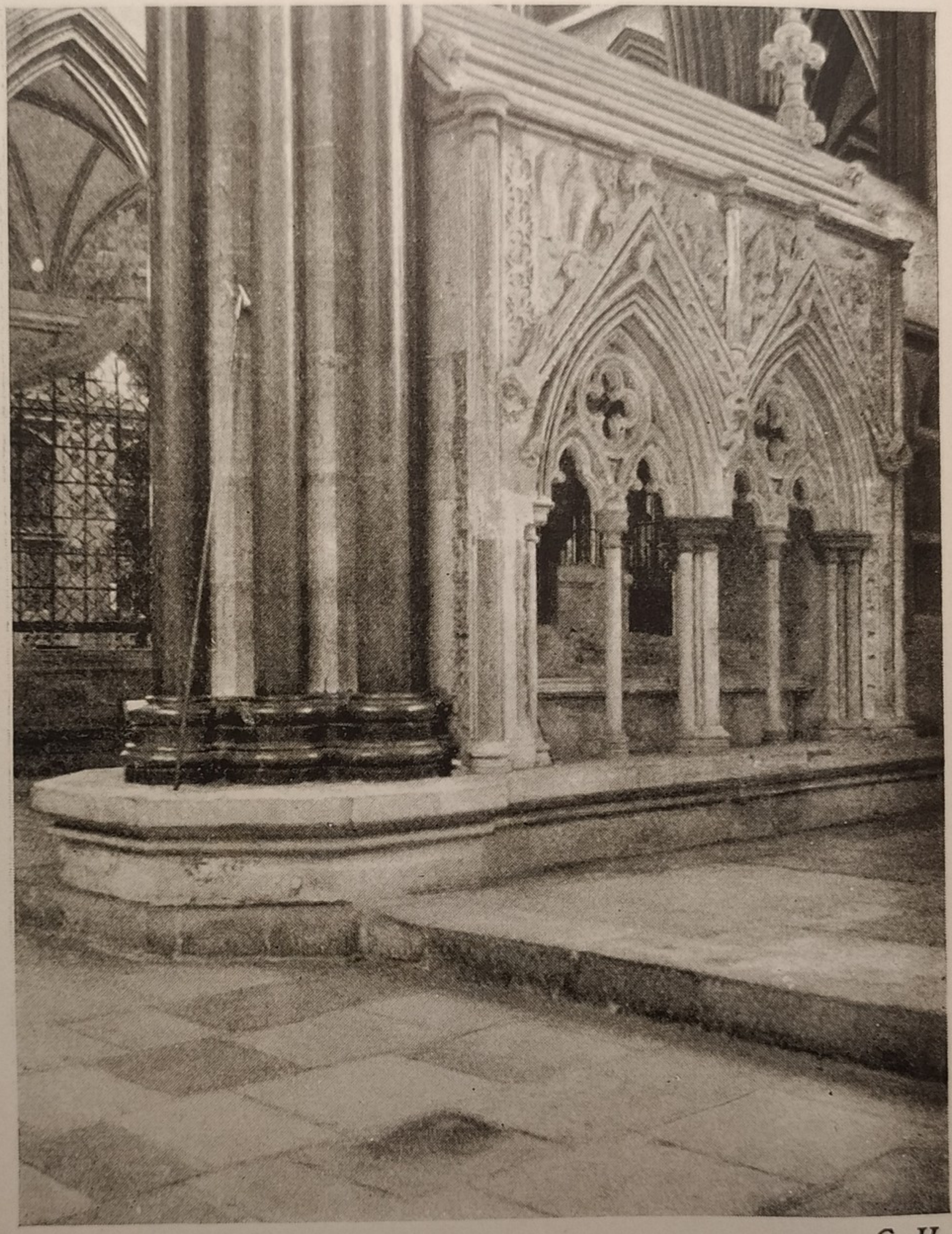
The Hungerford Chantry originally stood in the nave around the grave of Walter Lord Hungerford, of whose effigy and personality mention has been made. It was removed to the choir in 1778 by Lord Radnor and converted, with barbarous indifference, into a family pew! On the base are the arms of Hungerford and his two wives, but the main artistic interest attaches to the superstructure, which is of wrought-iron, and one of the oldest which survive in England. That of Beckington at Wells is similar, but fifty years later, and has been mutilated. Those of Edward IV. at Windsor, and Henry VII. at Westminster, are still

more recent. The grilles of the Hungerford Chantry are simply massive; the cornice and parapet are very rich.

Opposite is the Late Perpendicular chantry of Bishop Audley, who died in 1524. As a whole it is not beautiful or satisfying: the composition is heterogeneous: the two bays do not correspond at any point, and in consequence there is the same feeling of incoherence which is found in the west front. But for beauty and delicacy of enrichment the erection has hardly a rival; the canopy-work is delicious; and the lace-like elaboration of the cornice and parapet is very delicate.

At the right hand of the altar, in a position usually assigned to men especially eminent as benefactors of churches, is a very beautiful Early English arcade with, on each face, three cinquefeuille arches, beneath which is the effigy of a bishop in full canonicals. It was once assigned to Richard le Poore, but the founder was certainly buried elsewhere, and, since his successor, Robert de Bingham, is known to have been interred on the north side of the altar, this monument is probably his. Additional evidence in favour of this identification is that the face is bearded, whereas the seal of Richard le Poore shows him as clean-shaven.

The Choir Aisles and Transepts. The aisles of the choir broaden out at the third bay to form transepts similar in plan and architecture to those farther westward, though much smaller. They are separated from the choir by inverted arches, evidently inserted for the purpose of withstanding the tremendous lateral pressure induced by the building of the tower and



G. H.

THE TOMB OF BISHOP GILES DE BRIDPORT

In the south choir transept of Salisbury Cathedral. It is the most beautiful monument in the building, and shows Early English just developing into Decorated.

spire. The piers correspond with those of the choir, and the outline of the upright arches is fair, but as a whole these structures rather fail to impress or please. For one thing they are far too heavy in appearance. The spandrels are solid instead of being pierced, and thus given a lighter aspect. In short, whereas the inverted arches of Wells are fascinating, and the Perpendicular retaining portals in Salisbury crossing most beautiful and stately, these are too plainly engineering devices, and to me appear almost as devoid of romance as an American sky-scraper.

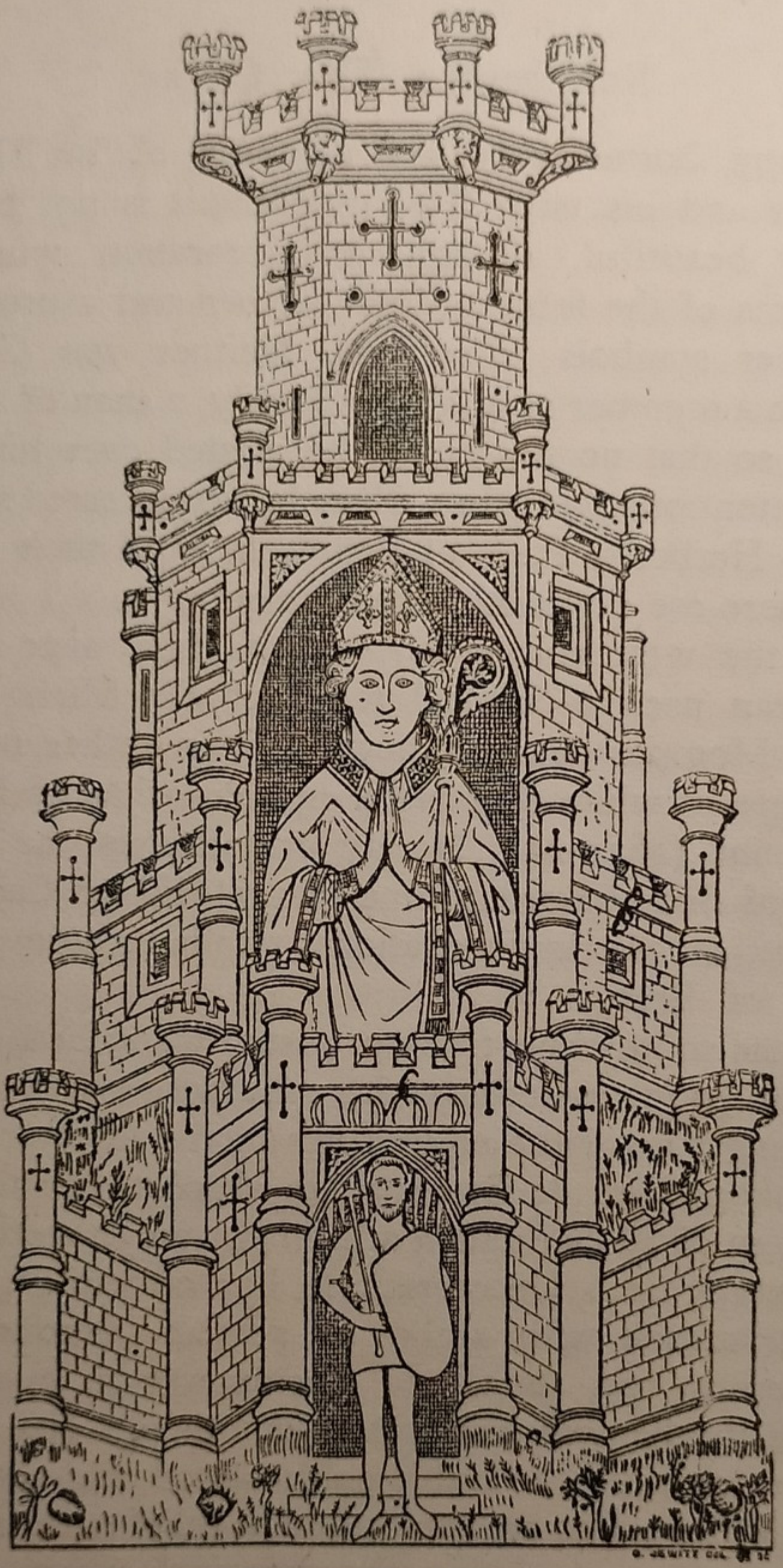
Monuments in the Choir and Transepts. At the entrance of the north choir aisle is a large table-tomb of Purbeck marble, which has been robbed of its brass and armorial bearings and, therefore, cannot be assigned, but is commonly attributed to Bishop Woodville (died 1484). A little farther on are two of the ghastly skeleton effigies which were so much in favour during the xvth–xvith centuries when, certainly, every man's head sat very loosely upon his shoulders, so that a lugubrious outlook upon life and the hereafter was natural enough. Close by, Bishop Jewel's resting-place is marked by a marble slab and a brass tablet. Beyond is an obviously xivth-century canopied monument, which, like so many others in the cathedral, cannot be identified, though it is sometimes assigned to Walter Scammel, Bishop of Salisbury (1284–86). In that case it was remodelled.

In the north choir transept is the splendid brass of Bishop Robert de Wyville, one of the finest in existence; also a fine Late Decorated "lavatory" and a remarkable double aumbry. But the most interesting

feature of this transept is that it contains, on its west wall, the remnants of a very beautiful Early English screen, which is believed to have been the original pulpitum destroyed by Wyatt. The sculpture of this screen is extremely rich: its trefoliated arches spring from piers upon which are imposed slender shafts with ornate capitals, while the backing is covered with floriation. At the spring of the arches are human heads, and the spandrels are filled by cherubs in relief.

It should be observed that there are good reasons for believing that Salisbury Cathedral never possessed a pulpitum of the type of those of Exeter, Wells, Gloucester, St. David's and elsewhere. This screen may therefore have been employed for another purpose. On the other hand, the construction of the Perpendicular retaining arches of Bishop Beauchamp shows that at the entrance to the choir they rested upon an erection higher than the pavement, and it has been inferred that this erection was the pulpitum. It seems quite clear that after the Stuart Restoration it was in the traditional position of one, but it has been suggested that it was only so placed by Bishop Ward and Sir Christopher Wren in order to support the new organ. Sir Gilbert Scott pointed out that the niches were originally intended as seats—but this also seems open to question. The subject is extremely obscure: what is quite certain is that the screen, by its style, is nearly coeval with the main portion of the cathedral, so that Wyatt, in this as in other things, may be saddled with the additional infamy of having destroyed an original monument of Early English art.

At the end of the aisle is the Jacobean tomb, with



BRASS OF BISHOP ROBERT DE WYVILLE IN THE NORTH CHOIR TRANSEPT OF SALISBURY CATHEDRAL

It is one of the finest in existence. The figure at the doorway may represent the champion whom he sent to fight the Earl of Salisbury (see p. 119).

a canopy, borne on twisted columns, of Sir Thomas Gorges and his wife. The monument is not by any means beautiful, though its decoration with the emblems of the four cardinal virtues and a profusion of other symbols is curious. Neither was Gorges, though a member of a famous family, a man of special mark, so that no time need be wasted over him and his pretentious sepulchre. Near by are interred several of the Herberts, Earls of Pembroke, and their wives, but there are no existing monuments.

At the west end of the south choir aisle is the Jacobean pseudo-classical tomb of Sir Michael and Lady Mompesson, and beyond it a rather impressive one of white and black marble—that of Bishop Davenant (1621–41). Nearly opposite is the table-tomb of that shameless time-server, Bishop Capon or Salcote, whose tergiversations rivalled those of the Vicar of Bray.

In the south choir transept rests Bishop Seth Ward, but the prime interest in this otherwise not especially inspiring part of the church lies in the lovely chantry of Bishop Giles de Bridport, an absolute masterpiece and gem of Early English art, on the very threshold of its passing into Decorated. It has on either side a double arcade with arches of perfect contour, each enveloping two trefoliated openings with a quatrefeuille in the tympanum between them. The arcade is surmounted by a double-gabled hood, and the spandrels of the gables are sculptured in relief with subjects interpreted as depicting the principal events of the bishop's life. The head of the effigy is supported by angels holding censers. This monument can only be

described as exquisite: it has few equals in England: the arcades are wonderfully beautiful and must be seen to be thoroughly appreciated.

Opposite to the lovely Bridport monument is a much humbler recessed tomb with a crocketed arch, surmounted by an elaborate finish. The brass has been destroyed: the sepulchre can therefore be only conjecturally assigned to Bishop William of York.

Farther along the aisle are the modern monuments of Bishops Moberley and Hamilton, both in the modern Gothic style, and beyond them the table-tomb of William Wilton, Chancellor of Sarum (1506–23). It is ornamented with a profusion of devices relating to the chancellor himself and everything with which his official life was connected—Henry VIII., Katharine of Aragon, Bishop Audley, and Abingdon Abbey. Needless to say, there is a punning inscription, consisting of the three letters W.I.L. and a tun.

At the end of the aisle is the towering, pretentious monument of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, son of Edward VI.'s uncle and Protector, Edward, Duke of Somerset, and his wife, Katharine Grey, sister of the ill-fated Lady Jane. The tomb itself is in good order, having been restored by the late Duke of Northumberland, so that it is once more brilliant with gold and colour—but it cannot be called beautiful, though it is certainly imposing, and as an architectural composition highly effective.

The Lady Chapel. The Lady Chapel is considered to be the first part of the cathedral to be completed. It consists of four bays and, unlike many erections of its class, it has a nave and narrow aisles. It extends east-

ward from the rear face of the reredos, and its western half is, therefore, contiguous with the choir aisles. Architecturally it has enormous interest. The beautifully-contoured vaulting of the roof is borne upon clustered piers of polished Purbeck marble and upon single shafts of the same material. These shafts are extraordinarily slender, none of them being more than ten inches in diameter against thirty feet of height, while the single ones are yet slighter.

The result is very curious. It may be surmised, as Francis Price remarked, that the architect deliberately set out to construct a building which should have its vault supported by the slightest possible columns. Price added that he was amazed at the audacity of the construction, since the shafts look so slender as to be incapable of standing against the face of an ordinary wind. The boldness of the conception cannot be denied, but the results are hardly pleasing; the heavy vault appears to be borne upon steel rods—not masonry columns at all. In short, the columns, as *columns,* seem too weak and slender to bear up the roof, unless they are of steel. It is not quite a question of grace; the point is that the dominating feature of these slender shafts is not grace at all but exceeding slenderness—they look as if they may snap at any moment. Therefore, admitting to the full the merits of the architect, the design of Salisbury's Lady Chapel cannot be regarded as satisfying. In fact, it almost looks as if the architect had planned to produce something which might be called a "scare." He would build an edifice in which the roof should appear to be so slightly upheld that it was always in danger of snapping its piers

G. H.

(*Above*) In the Cloister of Salisbury Cathedral

(*Below*) Inside the North Gate of the Cathedral Close

and falling in, while actually it was perfectly safe. It was very clever, but hardly suited for a building intended for purposes of devotion.

The chapel projects for two bays to the eastward beyond the choir aisles. Each bay is lighted on either side by a pair of recessed lancets, a trifle too long for perfect symmetry; at the east end of either narrow aisle is a single lancet, while the end of the nave has a very graceful triplet. There are thus five lancets in all at the east end of the Lady Chapel, but they cannot well be described as a quintuplet, since the flanking lights are obviously quite independent. Again the effect is peculiar, and not perfectly satisfying; the whole edifice seems to me to lack unity of conception: the writer obtained an odd impression that its architect was intent upon displaying his skill rather than erecting a beautiful and harmonious building.

The modern scheme of decoration may have something to do with this impression. The ribs of the vault are coloured red, green and white, and the vault itself a dull green, while the shafts gleam strongly in their burnished greenish-black. The effect is very peculiar—I think rather unpleasantly bizarre. I am ill at ease in Salisbury's Lady Chapel—unable to feel a sense of peace, much less of religious solemnity.

The reredos is built up of fragments from the destroyed Hungerford and Beauchamp Chapels, which formerly flanked the Lady Chapel on either side. The three central niches are the actual reredos of the Beauchamp Chapel, while those on either side are constructed from doorways. Beneath the windows are niches from the Beauchamp Chapel which, with their

delightful canopy-work and fine tracery springing from corbelled heads, proclaim clearly enough that the vanished shrine was a gem of England's own national Gothic style.

In the Lady Chapel was erected about 1457, after his canonisation, the shrine of St. Osmund: its site is now occupied by the altar, and no absolutely authentic fragment of it appears to survive. The stained glass of the windows is modern as in nearly every other opening in the cathedral, except the great west triplet and a few others.

The Beauchamp and Hungerford Chapels were both destroyed by Wyatt, and, not possessing the Oriental facility for vituperation, I must perforce hold my peace. Both of them were very gorgeous and splendid buildings of the Late Perpendicular period. Of the latter there is an interior view in Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain*. Not only was it enriched with a profusion of sculpture, but it contained a series of wall-paintings depicting the Dance of Death—another of those lugubrious subjects dear to the artist in those lugubrious times, when civil, public, and religious wars, famine, pestilence and murder ran riot throughout Europe. When Richard Symonds was at Salisbury in 1644, he filled several pages of his famous pocket-book (Harleian MS. 939) with notes and sketches of the armorial bearings in the chapel.

No such complete account of the Beauchamp Chapel has descended to us, which is more than usually unfortunate, since it seems to have been even finer than its fellow, with exquisitely-canopied tombs of Bishop

Beauchamp and his parents. The tomb of Sir John Cheyney, now in the nave, occupied the south-west corner. The roof was not a vault, but a timber construction of Irish oak, doubtless worthy of the building and the age—that of the final bloom of Perpendicular Gothic art.

THE CLOISTER. The cloister, among the most extensive and beautiful in England, is on the south side of the nave, but is separated from it by a long open court called the Plumberies—I suppose for the reason that it was at one time used as a workshop for the manufacture and renewal of the cathedral lead-work. The cloister forms a perfect square, with four galleries, each having ten bays, besides the four at the corners—forty-four in all. Towards the garth each bay is open, while the inner face, against the enclosure wall, has a blind archway correspondent in essentials to the open end of the bay.

Towards the garth the four galleries present four almost absolutely symmetrical façades, each façade separated into ten bays by nine plain receding buttresses. Between each pair of buttresses is the open end of the bay, consisting of an archway of beautiful contour enveloping two smaller ones separated by a pier of four-grouped shafts. Each of these in turn envelops a pair of yet smaller openings separated by a single shaft. The tympanum of the main arch is filled by a cinquefeuille or a sixfeuille, and those of the secondary arches by quatrefeuilles. The whole effect is one of remarkable purity and of severe beauty: there is no abundance of ornamentation, but the lack of it is not felt: the perfection of the design satisfies

every æsthetic and religious craving. As much cannot be said of the façade as a whole, for there is rather too great a depth of plain wall above the archways. But this is a minor defect: the aspect of the entire structure is one of extreme stateliness and beauty, in which respect it can hardly be surpassed in England.

Externally the eastern gallery differs from the others, having its southern arm heightened by a low storey in which is housed the cathedral library.

The Library. The cathedral library ranks high among collections of its nature, for it possesses nearly 200 MSS. alone, most of which have been in its possession for some 450 years. The earliest is a Gallican Psalter of about 970, which in its somewhat rude lettering and illumination speaks eloquently of the decline in art produced by the grim conditions of that "Age of Iron." Another Psalter has the Gallican and Hebrew versions side by side. There is a copy of the English version of the Gospel of Nicodemus beginning "Whanne Pylatus was reuler and justyse of ye Jewerye." There is a XIIth-century MS. of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*, and perhaps most precious of all, Chaucer's translation of the *Consolations* of Boethius. Also must be noted the XIVth-century MS. of the Use of Sarum.

There are, besides, many early printed books, including some twenty dating to the XVth century, and five times as many of the XVIth.

The Vestry and Muniment Chamber

Opening from the south choir transept is a small octagonal building of two storeys, extremely solid and

G. H.

THE BLIND ARCADING OF THE WALLS OF THE CHAPTER-HOUSE OF SALISBURY CATHEDRAL

In the spandrels are sculptured reliefs illustrating early biblical stories.

massive in construction, which was originally almost certainly the treasure-house. The ground-floor is now used as a vestry: the upper one, which has an oak roof with a central wooden column, now houses the cathedral muniments. They extend over six centuries, from 1091 to 1697, and have been edited and published in a private edition.

The Chapter-House

The splendid chapter-house is entered from the eastern gallery of the cloister. As far as evidence goes, it was designed about 1270–80, hardly later, for its style is Early English and shows very little trace of Decorated feeling. It is a really magnificent structure, and I am by no means sure that the Salisburians are not justified in claiming it as the most beautiful in England. It is of octagonal plan, with a central pier consisting of a core surrounded by eight very slender shafts. In dimensions it has fifty-eight feet of diameter and fifty-two of height.

Seven of the eight sides are practically identical. There is a plinth or base consisting of a stone bench with, at the back, a canopied arcade having cinquefeuille arches borne upon slender Purbeck marble shafts. Above the canopies is a very remarkable series of sculptured reliefs.

On this plinth stand seven huge Early English windows, each filling the entire face above the arcade in each bay. They are separated from one another by very heavy grouped pilaster piers, which give an impressive feeling of power to the structure as a whole.

From these pilasters the groining of the vault springs to meet the ribs diverging from the central column.

The contour of the windows is very fine and opulent, almost approaching a Decorated outline. The main arch envelops two secondary lights, and each of these in its turn includes a pair of lancets. In the heads of the main arches are octofeuilles, while those of the secondary arches have quatrefeuilles.

The eighth face, which contains the entrance, is naturally somewhat different. The plinth has a second stage in order to admit the doorway, while the window is correspondingly curtailed. The second stage of the plinth harmonises with the lowermost one; it has the same slender shafts, but the arcading is trefoliate instead of cinquefoliate.

The doorway is remarkably graceful and beautiful. It consists of a beautifully-contoured single arch enveloping two of cinquefeuille outline, separated by a quadruple Purbeck grouped pier. In the tympanum is a quatrefeuille with a bas-relief of the Saviour, flanked by two small circles holding sculptured cherubs or angels. The whole forms a most beautiful entry to a splendid hall: the only possible criticism which can be made is that perhaps it is slightly rigid. In the voussoirs of the arch are fourteen small reliefs representing subjects taken from the Battle of the Virtues and the Vices—the "Psychomachia"—of Prudentius. They are said to be infinitely superior to anything else in the chapter-house; certainly they are full of life and vigour; the only real artistic defect is the excessive size of the heads.

Round the spandrels of the arcading runs a series

of sculptures in high relief, illustrating incidents of biblical history from the Creation of the world to the proclamation of the Mosaic Law—sixty in all. They have been considerably restored, especially as regards the heads battered in by ecclesiastical "re-

SCULPTURES OF TWO OF THE SPANDRELS OF THE ARCADING OF THE CHAPTER-HOUSE OF SALISBURY CATHEDRAL

The subjects are the building of the Ark by Noah at the command of Jehovah, and the return of the Dove.

formers" or Puritan iconoclasts. As far as the writer's observation goes, they must in their original state have possessed much merit; indeed, the freedom and vigour of the work is often quite amazing. They must be studied to be appreciated: anyone with some know-

ledge of Old Testament history will have little difficulty in identifying the subjects. They begin with Genesis i. and continue to Exodus—but fifty-five of the sixty are in Genesis alone, almost every chapter being illustrated.

With the chapter-house this necessarily brief description of Salisbury Cathedral must end. It is, perhaps, the most perfectly-beautiful and symmetrical member of a building distinguished, above all, by symmetry; and it is distinctly much more inspiring than many parts of the cathedral itself. Yet it is open to question whether Salisbury Cathedral really lacks inspiring qualities. There is in it, no doubt, a certain monotony, but it is a very wonderful and harmonious whole. It lacks romance in parts, but it has been vilely mishandled by vandalistic chapters and "restorers." Its exterior, excepting the inchoate west front, is a beautifully-balanced harmony; its spire is a veritable glory of Gothic architecture: its cloister and its chapter-house are indeed things of beauty and a joy for ever. In a word, Salisbury Cathedral is beautiful, not by accident but by design. She is no virgin goddess like Exeter, but certainly a very elegant and queenly beauty—not at all a blonde beauty as Henry James would have it, but rather a dark-eyed, dark-browed lady, whose appeal is to the intellect rather than the senses.

CHAPTER VI

THE CHURCH OF ST. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY AT SALISBURY

Of the city churches of Salisbury, the most interesting is unquestionably that of St. Thomas of Canterbury, founded about 1226 on the present site by Richard le Poore. In its original state it was a small cruciform Early English structure, with a nave, chancel and transepts. It possessed neither aisles nor tower, and there was no clerestory.

About 1280 a chapel, dedicated to St. Stephen, was erected on the south side of the choir, and in 1400 the present tower was added as a detached campanile. Forty-seven years later the choir collapsed, and in its fall overwhelmed the chapel of St. Stephen. Thereupon the Dean and Chapter, as rectors of the church, came to an agreement with the parishioners to build an enlarged chancel, while the parishioners undertook to reconstruct the ruined south chapel. The chief inspirer of the restoration was William Swayne, a wealthy wool-stapler, at that time Mayor of Salisbury. With him were associated sundry other public-spirited local families, notably the Godmanstones who co-operated in rebuilding the north aisle of the chancel, while William Ludlow, lord of Hill Deverell Manor,

provided the roof. These works inspired others, and shortly afterwards the nave was enlarged by the addition of aisles, the southern one linking on to the tower so that it now became an integral part of the edifice. Finally the nave was heightened by the provision of a clerestory, the great west window was inserted, and the beautiful carved timber roof added to crown the whole. The nave was now much more lofty than the chancel, and to cover the large bare space above the chancel arch, the great "Doom" painting, the most remarkable feature of the church, was executed.

The church is therefore in the main a Perpendicular edifice, though its core is Early English, the bays of the nave and the chancel arch being in the earlier style. With these exceptions the building is Perpendicular. Some idea of what it was before the public spirit of the gentlemen and merchants of Salisbury transformed it may be obtained by noting the position of the corbels which carried the ancient roof—probably a high-pitched timber construction.

The Late Perpendicular roof of the nave is a fine example of the timber ceilings of which there are so many examples throughout the country, but it is not so beautiful as the earlier roof of the south chapel. The beams of the latter are sculptured with shields bearing the emblems of the Holy Trinity, the arms of Swayne the builder, also his merchant's mark. They are likewise inscribed with pious injunctions in Latin to pray for the souls of William Swayne, his wife "Chrystian" and his father James.

In this chapel are two monuments of painted alabaster to members of the Eyre family, many of whom

G. H.

THE SOUTH CHAPEL OF THE CHURCH OF ST. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY AT SALISBURY

The chapel was built by the Swaynes, a wealthy family, whose principal member was mayor in 1447. The two angle monuments are of the Eyre family.

G. H.

THE SOUTH CHAPEL OF THE CHURCH OF ST. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY AT SALISBURY

The chapel was built by the Swaynes, a wealthy family, whose principal member was mayor in 1447. The two angle monuments are of the Eyre family.

are buried in the church. Like more than one of our new or post-Tudor noble houses, their greatness began with successful trading in wool. In the time of Elizabeth they were the leading family in Salisbury. The XVIIIth-century enclosure of iron-work and sculptured wood, very good of its kind, was erected in 1724 to protect a vault for the family of Chief Baron Eyre.

In the north aisle is a table-tomb of Purbeck marble, with an ancient merchant's mark on both sides. The effigies and decorations were destroyed at the violent Edwardian "reformation" of 1548, but there is little doubt that it is the sepulchre of the Master Godmanstone who took a leading part in the rebuilding of the aisle. The tomb of William Ludlow, which formerly stood on the north side of the altar, has disappeared. The stained glass, which was lavishly provided by these public-spirited local magnates, was ruthlessly smashed by the "reforming" barbarians, and only a few fragments have survived in the east window and elsewhere, notably in the vestry, where there are considerable remains of what must have been a beautiful three-light window with two subjects still almost complete—St. Christopher bearing the Child Christ in the centre, and St. Thomas à Becket on the right.

THE "DOOM" PAINTING. The great "Doom" painting is the most curious feature of this interesting church, but not by any means the most beautiful or artistic. From its characteristics it was probably executed about 1480: a prior date is given by the fact that there appears in it as a saint Bishop Osmund, who was not canonised until 1457. It was whitewashed at the Reformation,

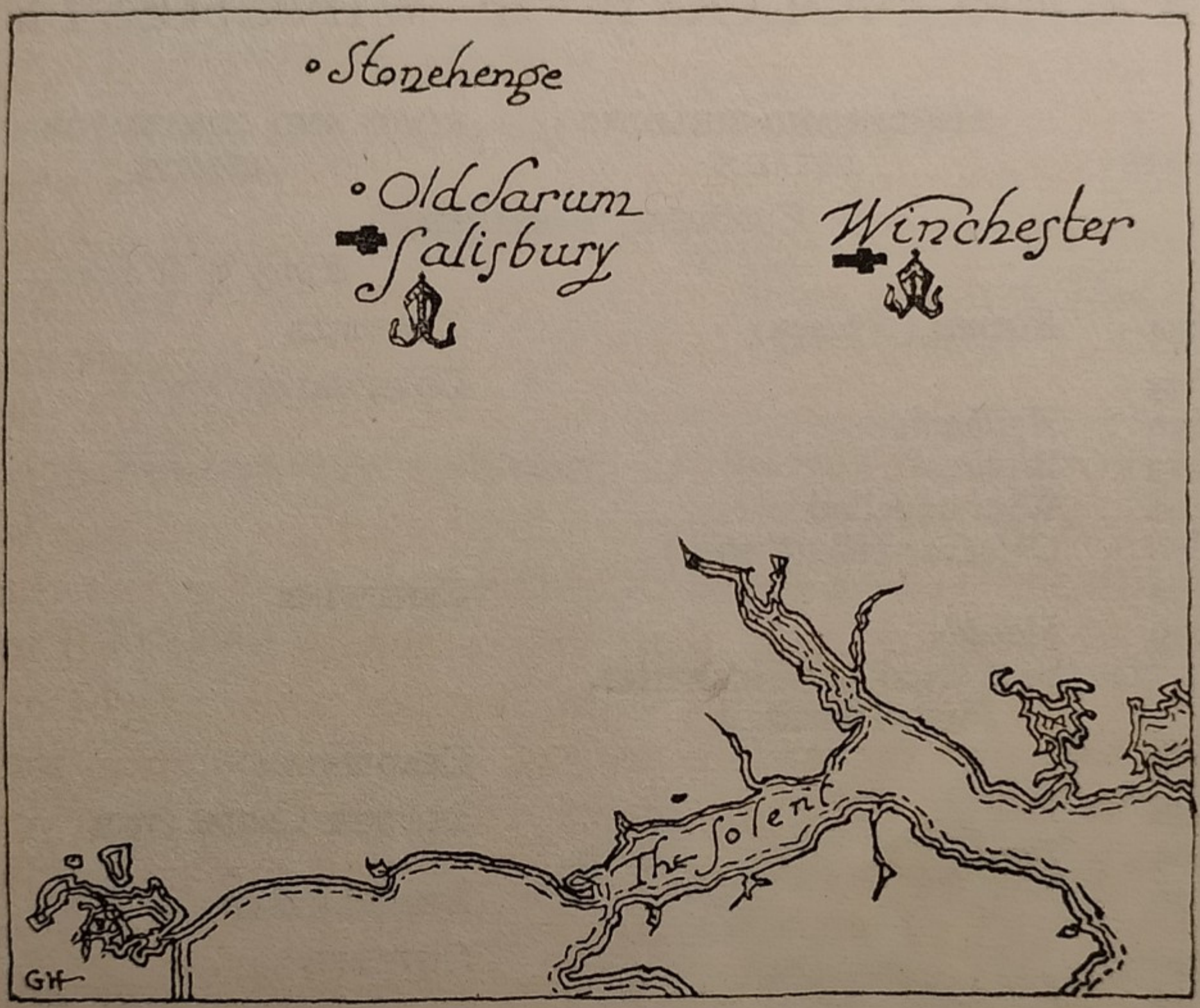
and on the blank space was placed in Elizabeth's reign the royal escutcheon now over the south door. That may have been due to the queen herself, whose artistic tastes were continually revolted by Protestant bleakness and iconoclasm. Finally, in 1880, the white-wash was removed and the curious revelation of the mind of the Middle Ages uncovered and treated with preservative composition.

The painting is highly interesting, and anyone who has the leisure should not neglect to give it careful study with the aid of field-glasses, which are essential —but it cannot be described as beautiful or inspiring. The subject is, of course, the Last Judgment. In the centre the Judge of All Mankind sits enthroned in the New Jerusalem, surrounded by angels and saints, with the Twelve Apostles at His feet. On the left the dead are rising from their graves and being led off to judgment, while on the right, damned souls are being hurled into the gaping jaws of hell. The composition is varied by odd groups of dead who have not yet been seized by the stern warders, and are evidently in a state of shrieking despair.

Below on the right is a large figure of St. Osmund, and to the left a pilgrim saint identified as St. James of Compostella, the patron saint of Spain. The conclusion is that one of the persons associated with the work had made the pilgrimage to his shrine in Northern Spain.

It will be gathered from this brief description that the tone of the work is gloomy — not to say rather horrible. The traces of true Christian feeling are slight; the terrors of hell, not the blessings of heaven, are very prominent—much more so than in the great west

window of Fairford Church, which depicts the same subject—and the faces of the Divine Judge and His supporters are coarse and lack spirituality. To my mind the picture tells of the demoralisation of the period of



Sketch Map showing the Positions of the Places mentioned in this Book

the Wars of the Roses, when political murder was rampant. But that consideration does not detract from its fascination as a prominent feature in a highly interesting church.

A CHRONOLOGY OF WINCHESTER

DATE	BISHOPS AND BUILDING DETAILS	KINGS AND CONTEMPORARY EVENTS
	EUROPEAN ROMANESQUE	
		Kings of Wessex
634	*Birinus* (Wessex)	CYNEGILS
643		COENWALCH
650	*Agilberht*	
663	*Wini*	
666	Wini expelled	
670	*Chlothar* (*Eleutherius*)	
674		CENTWINE
679	*Haedde*	
	Seat fixed at Winchester. First Cathedral	
685		CEADWALLA
688		INE THE LEGISLATOR
705	*Daniel*	
726		AETHELHEARD
740		CUTHRED
744	*Hunferth*	
754	*Cyneheard*	
756		SIGEBERHT
759		CYNEWULF
780	*Aethelheard*	
786		BEORHTRIC
790	*Ecgbald*	
793	*Dudda*	Beginning of Viking raids
799	*Cyneberht*	
802		ECGBERHT
803	*Ealhmund*	
815?	*Wigthegen*	
823	*Herefrith*	

DATE	BISHOPS AND BUILDING DETAILS	KINGS AND CONTEMPORARY EVENTS
		Kings of England
829		ECGBERHT
833	*Eadmund*	
839		AETHELWULF
845?	*Helmstan*	
850	*St. Swithun*	
	Enlargement of Cathedral	
858		AETHELBALD
860	Vikings sack Winchester	AETHELBERHT
861–2	*Aelhfrith*	
866		AETHELRED I.
871	*Dunberht*	ALFRED
878		Alfred defeats Vikings and saves Wessex
879	*Denewulf*	
886		Alfred defeats Viking raid
	Building of New Minster	Alfred's reorganisation
892–6		Defeat of great Viking invasion
900		EADWEARD I., "The Elder"
909	*Frithstan*	
910		Aethelflaed, The Lady of Mercia
910–17		Eadweard and Æthelflaed subdue the Vikings settled in England
917		Death of Aethelflaed
924		AETHELSTAN
926		Aethelstan, *Rex Totius Britanniae*
931	*Brynstan*	
934	*Aelfhead*	
940		EADMUND I.
946		EADRED
951	*Aelfsine*	
955		EADWIG
958	*Brihthelm*	
959		EADGAR
963	*Aethelwold I.*	
975		EADWARD II., "The Martyr"
979		AETHELRED II., "The Redeless"

DATE	BISHOPS AND BUILDING DETAILS	KINGS AND CONTEMPORARY EVENTS
984	*Aelfheah*	
988		Serious Viking raids re-commence
1005	*Kenwulf*	Famine in England
1006	*Aethelwold II.*	
1013		The Danish Conquest Svend or Sweyn "Fork-beard"
1014		ÆTHELRED II. (restored)
1015	*Aelfsige*	
1016		EADMUND II. ("Ironside") CNUT (son of Sweyn)
	Cnut a benefactor of the Cathedral	
1032	*Aelwyn*	
1035		HAROLD I.
1040		HARTHACNUT
	ROMANESQUE: FIRST "NORMAN" SCHOOL	
1042		EADWEARD III., "The Confessor"
1047	*Stigand*	
1066		HAROLD II. (Godwinson) The Norman Conquest WILLIAM I.
1070	*Walkelyn* Beginning of present Cathedral	
1087		WILLIAM II.
	ROMANESQUE: LATE NORMAN SCHOOL	
1098	*William Giffard*	
1100		HENRY I.
1129	*Henry de Blois*	
1135		STEPHEN
1141	Siege of Winchester	
1154		HENRY II.
	TRANSITIONAL: ROMANESQUE TO GOTHIC	
1172	*Richard de Toclyve*	
1189	*Geoffrey de Lucy*	RICHARD I.

DATE	BISHOPS AND BUILDING DETAILS	KINGS AND CONTEMPORARY EVENTS
	EARLY ENGLISH GOTHIC	
1199	Retrochoir built	JOHN
1205	*Peter de Roches*	
1216		HENRY III.
1244	*William de Ralegh*	
1250	*Aymer de Lusignan*	
1268	*John Gervase*	
1272		EDWARD I.
	DECORATED GOTHIC	
1281	*John de Pontoise*	
1305	*Henry Wodeloke*	
1307		EDWARD II.
1316	*John de Sundale*	
1319	*Rigaud de Asserio*	
1323	*John de Stratford*	
1327		EDWARD III.
1333	*Adam de Orleton*	
1345	*William de Edingdon* Commencing of Perpendicular transformation	
	PERPENDICULAR GOTHIC	
1366	*William de Wykeham*	
1377	Perpendicular transformation of Choir The Wykeham Chantry	RICHARD II.
1399		HENRY IV.
1404	*Henry, Cardinal de Beaufort*	
1413		HENRY V.
1422	Great Reredos The Beaufort Chantry	HENRY VI.
1447	*William of Waynflete*	
1455		Wars of the Roses
1461		EDWARD IV.
1471	The Waynflete Chantry	Murder of Henry VI.
1483		EDWARD V.

DATE	BISHOPS AND BUILDING DETAILS	KINGS AND CONTEMPORARY EVENTS
		LATE PERPENDICULAR GOTHIC
1483		RICHARD III.
1485		HENRY VII.
1486	*Peter Courtenay*	
1492	*Thomas Langton*	
1500	*Richard Fox* Side-screen of Choir The Fox Chantry Completion of Reredos	
1509		HENRY VIII.
1528	*Thomas, Cardinal Wolsey*	
1530	*Stephen Gardiner* The Gardiner Chantry	
1535–8		Dissolution of Monasteries
1547		EDWARD VI.
1550	*John Poynet*	
1553	*Stephen Gardiner* (restored)	MARY I.
1555	*John White*	
1558		ELIZABETH
1559	*Robert Horne*	
1579	*John Watson*	
1584	*Thomas Cooper*	
1588	Great Spanish Armada	
1594	*William Wickham*	
1595	*William Day*	
1596	*Thomas Bilson*	
1603		JAMES I.
1616	*James Montague*	
1618	*Lancelot Andrewes*	
1625		CHARLES I.
1626	*Richard Neile*	
1632	*Walter Curle*	
1642		Great Civil War
1644	Sack of Winchester	
1649		THE COMMONWEALTH
1653		OLIVER CROMWELL
1658		RICHARD CROMWELL
1660	*Brian Duppa*	CHARLES II.
1662	*George Morley*	

DATE	BISHOPS AND BUILDING DETAILS	KINGS AND CONTEMPORARY EVENTS
1665		Great Plague
1684	*Peter Mews*	
1685		JAMES II.
1688		Great Revolution
1689		WILLIAM III.
		MARY II.
1695		WILLIAM III. (alone)
1702		ANNE
1706	*Sir Jonathan Trelawney*	
1714		GEORGE I.
1721	*Charles Trinnel*	
1723	*Richard Willis*	
1727		GEORGE II.
1734	*Benjamin Hoadley*	
1760		GEORGE III.
1761	*John Thomas*	
1781	*Brownlow North*	Loss of American Colonies
1792		French Revolution
1803		Napoleonic War
1814–15		Fall of Napoleon
1820	*Sir G. Tomline*	GEORGE IV.
1827	*C. R. Sumner*	
1830		WILLIAM IV.
1832		First Reform Act
1837		VICTORIA
1866		Prussia supreme in Germany
1869	*Samuel Wilberforce*	
1873	*E. H. Browne*	
1891	*A. W. Thorold*	
1895	*Randall Davidson*	
1901		EDWARD VII.
1903	*E. G. Ryle*	
1905–12	Strengthening of Foundations	
1910		GEORGE V.
1911	*E. S. Talbot*	
1914–18		Great World War

A CHRONOLOGY OF SALISBURY

DATE	BISHOPS OF SARUM AND BUILDING DETAILS	CONTEMPORARY KINGS, ETC.
	ROMANESQUE: FIRST NORMAN SCHOOL	
1058	*Herman*	EADWEARD III., "The Confessor" (1042–1066)
1066		HAROLD II.
		The Norman Conquest
		WILLIAM I., "The Conqueror"
1075	Seat of Bishopric shifted to Old Sarum	
1078	*Osmund de Séez*	
1087		WILLIAM II., "Rufus"
	LATE NORMAN SCHOOL	
1100		HENRY I.
1102	*Roger le Poore*	
1135		STEPHEN
1142	*Jocelyn de Bohun*	
	TRANSITIONAL NORMAN	
1154		HENRY II.
1188	*Hubert fitz Walter*	
1189		RICHARD I.
1194	*Herbert le Poore*	
	EARLY ENGLISH GOTHIC	
1199		JOHN
1216		HENRY III.
1217	*Richard le Poore*	
1220	Seat moved from Old Sarum into the Valley of Salisbury Commencement of Cathedral	
1225	First service in Cathedral	
1228	*Robert de Bingham* Continuance of work in Choir and Nave	

DATE	BISHOPS OF SARUM AND BUILDING DETAILS	CONTEMPORARY KINGS, ETC.
1247	*William of York* Completion of Nave?	
1256	*Giles de Bridport*	
1258	Solemn consecration of buildings by Archbishop Boniface de Savoie Roof and West Front	
1262	*Walter de la Wyle* Cloister commenced?	
1272		Edward I.
1274	*Robert de Wykehampton* Chapter-House commenced?	
	Decorated Gothic	
1284	*Walter Scammel*	
1287	*Henry de Braundeston*	
1289	*Walter de Corriés*	
1292	*Nicholas "Longespée"*	
1297	*Simon de Gand*	
1307		Edward II.
1315	*Roger de Mortival*	
1326	Walls of Close begun	
1327		Edward III.
1330	*Robert de Wyville* Tower heightened	
1355	Cloister enlarged Commencement of Spire?	
	Perpendicular Gothic	
1375	*Ralph Erghum* Building of Spire ?	
1377	Inverted Arches ?	Richard II.
1388	*John de Waltham*	
1395	*Richard Mitford*	
1399		Henry IV.
1407	*Nicholas Bubwith*	
1407	*Robert Hallam*	
1413		Henry V.
1417	*John Chandler*	
1422		Henry VI.
1427	*Robert Neville* The Hungerford Chapel	

DATE	BISHOPS OF SARUM AND BUILDING DETAILS	CONTEMPORARY KINGS, ETC.
1438	*William Ayscough*	
1450	*Richard Beauchamp*	
	Perpendicular Retaining Arches	
	LATE PERPENDICULAR PERIOD	
1461		EDWARD IV.
1470	The Beauchamp Chapel	
1482	*Lionel Woodville*	
1483		EDWARD V.
		RICHARD III.
1485	*Thomas Langton*	HENRY VII.
1494	*John Blyth*	
1500	*Henry Dean*	
1502	*Edmund Audley*	
1509		HENRY VIII.
1524	*Lorenzo Campeggio*	
1535	*Nicholas Shaxton*	
1539	*John Salcote or Capon*	
	Cathedral defaced	
1547		EDWARD VI.
1553		MARY I.
1557	*Peter Peton*	
1558		ELIZABETH
1560	*John Jewel*	
1571	*Edmund Gheast*	
1577	*John Piers*	
1591	*John Coldwell*	
1598	*Henry Cotton*	
1603		JAMES I.
1615	*Robert Abbott*	
1618	*Martin Fotherby*	
1620	*Robert Townson*	
1621	*John Davenant*	
1625		CHARLES I.
1641	*Brian Duppa*	
1649		THE COMMONWEALTH
1653		OLIVER CROMWELL
1658		RICHARD CROMWELL

DATE	BISHOPS OF SARUM AND BUILDING DETAILS	CONTEMPORARY KINGS, ETC.
1660	*Humphrey Henchman*	CHARLES II.
1663	*John Eailes*	
1665	*Alexander Hyde*	
1667	*Seth Ward*	
	Restoration of Cathedral	
1685		JAMES II.
1689	*Gilbert Burnet*	WILLIAM III.
		MARY II.
1702		ANNE
1714		GEORGE I.
1715	*William Talbot*	
1721	*Richard Willis*	
1723	*Benjamin Hoadley*	
1727		GEORGE II.
1734	*Thomas Sherlock*	
1749	*John Gilbert*	
1757	*John Thomas*	
1760		GEORGE III.
1761	*Robert Harry Drummond*	
1761	*John Thomas*	
1766	*John Hume*	
1782	*Shute Barrington*	
1789	Wyatt devastates Cathedral	
1791	*John Douglas*	
1807	*John Fisher*	
1820		GEORGE IV.
1825	*Thomas Burgess*	
1830		WILLIAM IV.
1837	*Edward Denison*	VICTORIA
1854	*Walter Kerr Hamilton*	
1863	Restoration begun under Scott	
1869	*George Moberley*	
1880	North Porch restored (Street)	
1885	*John Wordsworth*	
1898	Tower restored (Blomfield)	
1901		EDWARD VII.
1905	*St. Clair G. E. Donaldson*	
1910		GEORGE V.
1911	*F. E. Ridgway*	
1914–18		European War
1921	Repairs to Spire	

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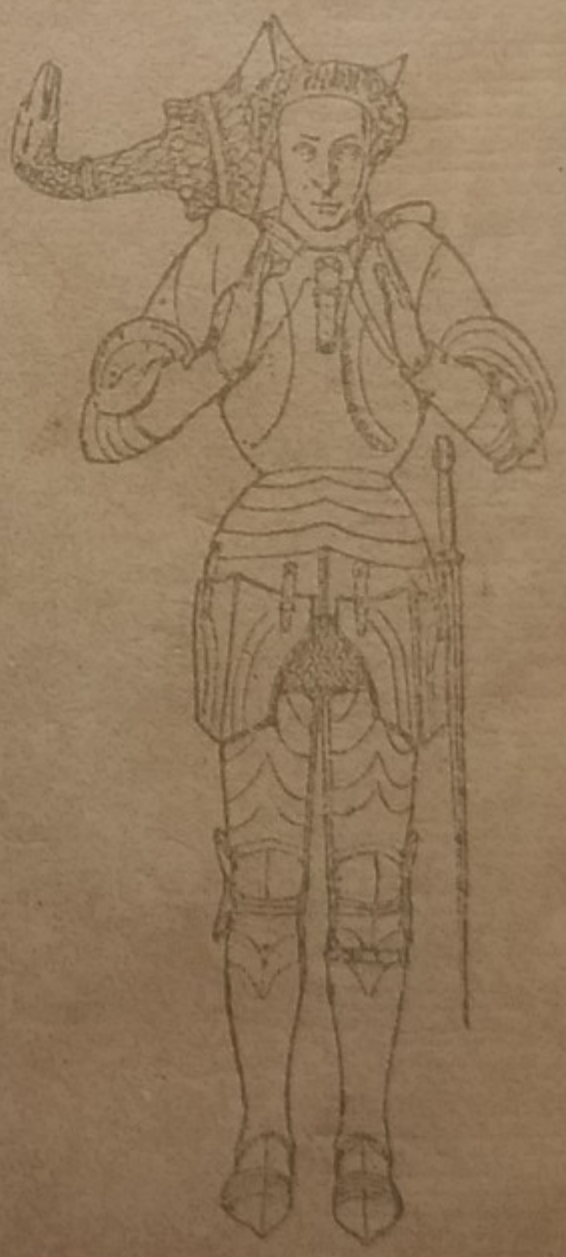

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